Two eighteenth-century English adaptations of the Celestina : Celestina: or the Spanish bawd : a tragi-comedy; and the Bawd of Madrid.

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TWO EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH ADAPTATIONS OF THE CELESTINA.

CELESTINA: OR, THE SPANISH BAWD. A TRAGI-COMEDY,

AND THE BAWD OF MADRID

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ABSTRACT

The introductory chapter discusses previous studies of Celestina imitations and adaptations, and the position of early Celestinesque works in Spanish literature. I then move further afield to investigate the diffusion of the Celestina in the rest of Europe, especially in England. Chapter II comments on the general influence of Spain on English literature with particular reference to the two eighteenth-century adaptations of the Celestina. Chapter III suggests some implications of the simultaneous appearance of these two adaptations. Chapters IV-VI are devoted to a closer examination of the dramatic adaptation, A Tragi-Comedy; an investigation into its sources, and the manner in which it remodels its original for the stage, culminates in a discussion of the adapters' identity. Chapters VII-IX deal with The Bawd of Madrid; a biographical sketch of its author, Captain Stevens, is followed by a discussion of which version of the Celestina he used and of the sources for the description of Madrid in his first chapter. Chapter IX looks at the way he reworks the Spanish Tragi-comedia into a narrative account. I bring together in Chapter X elements from both adaptations for purposes of comparison. The final chapter shows the similarities between the fictional world of the Celestina and the environment of early eighteenth-century London, and I suggest why these English adaptations may have been particularly apposite at this time.

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APPENDIX 3 - Prefatory Material to The Spanish Libertines and the Text of The Bawd of Madrid.

PREFACE

Since the two books concerned are not readily accessible, it has been thought desirable to provide a supplementary volume to this thesis containing xerox copies of the two Celestina adaptations and the prefatory material to the works of which they form part. Unfortunately, it has not been possible at this stage to make direct reproductions of the copies in the British Library (known as the British Museum library until July 1973), because permission to make xerox copies of works before 1800 was withdrawn in October 1973. Since reproduction by photograph or enlargement of a microfilm would have been prohibitively expensive, I have been reluctantly obliged to have a much less satisfactory reproduction made from a xerox copy that was taken before permission to do so was withdrawn by the British Library.

Specific acknowledgements of indebtedness are made at appropriate points in the notes, but I feel bound to acknowledge more general debts to the staff of the British Library, of the Institute of Historical Research, and of the library at Westfield College, for much kind assistance. Mr. Peter Dixon of the English department at the same college commented on early versions of chapters II,III,V,VI,VII,IX and XI, and was largely responsible for detecting extensive gaps in my knowledge of English literature. One overwhelming debt is too all-pervasive to be adequately acknowledged in the notes; Professor A.D. Deyermond has at all times been patient and courteous in his many invaluable suggestions and meticulous correction of several drafts. He is, of course, in no way to blame for any errors or obscurities that remain.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AB	All for the Better
ATC	A Tragi-Comedy
BHi	Bulletin Hispanique
BHS	Bulletin of Hispanic Studies
BL	British Library
BM	The Bawd of Madrid
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography
GC	The Generous Choice
HR	Hispanic Review
LG	Life of Guzman d'Alfarache
NBAE	Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
PQ	Philological Quarterly
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
RLC	Revue de Littérature Comparée
RPh	Romance Philology
Shakespeare Jahrbuch	Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

THE LITERARY TRADITION OF THE CELESTINA IN SPAIN

If the number of editions that a work ran to in the early days of printing in Spain is a reliable yardstick of its popularity, the initial success of the Celestina exceeds even that of the Quixote. In the century after the first known printing of the 16-act Comedia in or soon after 1499, the number is more than twice the total of Spanish Quixote editions during a comparable period of time.[1] Another measure of its popularity beyond the small circle of friends for whom Fernando de Rojas is likely to have intended his Comedia de Calisto y Melibea, is the large number of books written in subsequent years that carried on the traditions created by this work. The main body of this literature was written during the next 150 years, but this present century has seen a number of editions, translations and adaptations of the Celestina, which confirms beyond doubt that its influence as an outstanding work of imaginative literature is not confined to the age for which it was written.

It may be appropriate to summarize the plot of the Celestina at this point. In the 16-act Comedia, Sempronio, seeing his master Calisto smitten with love for Melibea, seeks the help of an ancient go-between, Celestina. She is successful in bringing about the desired meeting between the lovers, but because of her covetousness, she is murdered by Sempronio and his fellow-servant Pármeno, to whom she had

promised part of the reward given to her by Calisto for services rendered. Both of the servants are very seriously injured while trying to escape from justice, and are summarily executed. After enjoying the favours of Melibea, Calisto falls to his death as he leaves the garden of her house, and the grief-stricken Melibea throws herself to her death, requesting her parents to bury her body with that of her lover.

With the interpolations that the author inserted at a later date, the nightly meetings of the two lovers continue for a month after the death of the servants. Rojas also works into the action a causal connection between the death of the low-life characters and that of the lovers: the ruffians whose attack on Calisto's other servants fetches him to their rescue, bringing about his fatal fall, are carrying out the revenge plotted by Elicia and Areúsa, friends of Celestina and lovers of the two dead servants, Sempronio and Pármeno.

In the first important study of Celestinesque literature to appear this century, Menéndez y Pelayo declares that the early body of works which continued the tradition of the Celestina 'por su número y su valor son una de las más curiosas y ricas manifestaciones de la literatura del siglo XVI'.[2] Although in his Orígenes de la novela he is primarily concerned with the contribution of the Celestina to the rise of the novel in Spain, Menéndez y Pelayo does affirm the wider influence of the work when he compares the Celestina with the poetry of Homer. Out of both works, he says, 'brotaron a un tiempo dos

raudales para fecundar el campo del teatro y el de la novela' (iii,222). He also mentions the influence exercised by Celestina translations outside Spain.

It was nearly fifty years before Menéndez y Pelayo's investigations were supplemented by a more detailed study of the Spanish imitations of the Celestina. The American doctoral thesis of Ernest H. Kilgore Hillard, submitted in 1957, concentrates mainly on plot variations in Celestinesque works before 1650.[3] He discerns three distinct types of work: continuations, close imitations and free imitations. The first of these groups, continuations, includes all those works based directly on the Comedia of 1499 (including the interpolations of the 21-act Tragicomedia and an additional act, said to come from a 'comedia que ordenó Sanabria', which was included in 1526 and two subsequent editions, but then dropped). Close imitations are those whose plot structures resemble that of the Celestina without having any characters in common with that work, and the last group, free imitations, deals with those works clearly inspired by the Celestina, but dissimilar in one or another structural aspect.

Hillard deals in great detail with each of the imitations, giving much valuable insight into them, but the categories he divides them into seem to leave little scope for flexibility or imagination. One wonders whether he would have approached his study in the same manner had he finished it after the appearance of a work which is now justly considered central to an understanding of the Celestina and the literary tradition that grew up around it, La originalidad artística de la Celestina, by María Rosa Lida de Malkiel. While she rejects any

single approach to the understanding of the work, Mrs. Malkiel stresses the neglected importance of the humanistic comedy to the form and structure of the Celestina.[4] On this view, the main structural feature which Hillard sees as a unique characteristic of Rojas' conception, the bringing together of two lovers by a bawd or by servants, is given a more humble status as a commonplace of Italian humanistic comedy and one of the least original features of the Tragicomedia. Many of the works which he places in the line of descent from the Celestina, the Thebayda and the Seraphina (1521), for instance, are much more at home among the humanistic comedies and owe few specific debts to Fernando de Rojas.

It is unfortunate that Hillard concentrates on the structure as the most original element of the Celestina. It often means that he overlooks other important features unquestionably borrowed from the Tragicomedia, even in works that he includes in his study. Two examples from different writers will illustrate this point. Among the books that he regards as free imitations of Rojas' work, he mentions that 'the influence of the Celestina is found in one short scene of the Égloga de Plácida y Vitoriano, written by Juan del Encina in 1513' (Hillard,335). The short scene he mentions outlines the activities of the bawd Eritea, who has nothing to do with the lovers Plácida and Vitoriano, but nonetheless makes several unmistakeable allusions to Rojas' character Celestina. While it is true that, as far as the plot is concerned, the lovers bear no relationship to Calisto and Melibea, Hillard omits to mention that Vitoriano shows many of the characteristics

of a courtly lover and that both he and Plácida declare their love for one another by the use of religious terminology, especially in the opening scene. Since there is more than a passing resemblance between the two pairs of lovers, it is curious that Hillard includes this imitation among 'those having a genuine Celestina but lacking a two-lover theme' (335). It is true that Eritea does not act as a go-between for the two lovers in the same way that Celestina did, but this role in the Égloga is performed by Suplicio, a friend of theirs.

The other example comes from a writer of the early seventeenth century, Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo. Hillard rightly describes three of his works whose plots owe an unquestionable debt to the Celestina: La hija de Celestina (1612), La escuela de Celestina (1620) and La sabia Flora malsabidilla (1621). Salas Barbadillo's debt to Rojas is, however, much more extensive than Hillard implies: El necio bien afortunado (1621), for example, contains a maidservant who acts as a go-between for the male and female protagonists, and she instructs a page in the ways of the world in much the same manner as Pármeno is instructed by Celestina. Don Lázaro, the title-character of El cortesano descortés (1621), is another importunate lover in the style of Calisto before him, as the title implies. And like Calisto, Don Lázaro has a crafty servant Marcelo who tries to deceive his master, offset by another servant Federico, who strives to remain loyal for a time, then joins Marcelo in hoodwinking Don Lázaro. A character who bears a more remote resemblance to Celestina is Emerenciana in El escarmiento del viejo verde (1615). She is portrayed as a witch, apparently on intimate terms with the devil, and fools an old man into thinking he is making love to a virgin.[5] There are several other examples of works

before 1650 that relate to elements in the Celestina other than the bare outline of the plot, and it is unfortunate that the terms of reference that Hillard imposes on himself are not broad enough to encompass them.

Since her approach to the Celestina imitations is altogether more eclectic, Mrs. Malkiel cannot be similarly criticised for trying to fit them into too rigid a mould. Her general aim in La originalidad artística is to enumerate the many original contributions that the Celestina makes to the artistic range of Spanish literature, at the same time acknowledging the considerable debt that Rojas owed to his literary precursors. Because of her grasp of the subject and the fact that the scope of her work extends far beyond the time of Rojas to include translations and adaptations of the Celestina throughout the rest of Europe down to the present century, Mrs. Malkiel's contribution to our understanding of the Celestina's literary tradition has been indispensable to the writing of this present study, and I shall be referring to her work on many other occasions. One major criticism, however, has been levelled against La originalidad artística. P.E. Russell has suggested that Mrs. Malkiel leaves her reader with the impression that the characters of the Celestina emerge out of an almost wholly literary world, and that she neglects to point out that the success of the work was due more than anything to the unmistakeably popular origins of many of the characters conveyed by the dialogues.[6] Russell goes on to make an initial contribution of evidence relating to the social background of the Celestina (235-7), and the gap has since been further filled by Stephen Gilman's book, The Spain of Fernando de Rojas, which, as the title suggests, is mostly concerned with the

biography of the author himself.[7] Yet there is still room for a major work relating the Celestina to its immediate descendants, with a view to discovering to what extent the early Celestinesque works mirror the society for which they were written. One small yet disturbing example of the problem that remains may illustrate this. In the same article, Russell agrees with Mrs. Malkiel that Rojas deliberately makes it impossible for his readers to tell in which city the Celestina took place; nevertheless, the topographical references, ambiguous as they are, are still very much in evidence. Characters in the early continuations were fond of discussing the more enigmatic problems that the Tragicomedia had posed, yet, if the locale was as great a mystery for contemporary readers as Russell supposes, why was there no discussion about which city Celestina might conceivably have lived in? It is almost as if the locale was so well-known that it made further comment redundant. Again, if the locale was in doubt, why should a near-contemporary like Sancho Muñón casually mention in his Tragicomedia de Lisandro y Roselia that Elicia, like Celestina before her, came from Salamanca, as if the fact had never been in dispute? The problem of location, and many other outstanding enigmas posed by the Celestina, may yet be illuminated by a close study of the Celestina in the light of the comments of its imitators.

Mrs. Malkiel demonstrates convincingly the important influence of the humanistic comedy on the form and nature of the Celestina. This genre was developed largely by Italian writers in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but she makes it clear that 'humanistic comedy' is a loose generic term which in fact covers a widely-differing

group of works: some humanistic comedies are in Latin, some are in the vernacular; some are erudite, others attract a more popular audience; some are in prose, others are in verse; some are written for performance, others are impossible to stage, and so on. Yet the number of common features that the Celestina shares with these early Italian works is quite remarkable. Almost all the humanistic comedies are built around a simple plot in which illicit love is fostered by the intervention of a go-between or servants. Yet the most outstanding feature displayed by the Celestina, in common with those Italian comedies not destined for performance, is the unimpeded use of space and time during the action:

> La comedia humanística no sólo distribuye la acción en gran número de escenarios sino la desplaza con gran movilidad...Ese enfoque permite la evocación pormenorizada del ambiente y de los personajes. (Malkiel, 39-40)

It cannot be maintained, of course, that the Celestina depends solely on the humanistic comedies for its popularity, yet it is possible to place the Celestina within the framework of a general interest of Spanish readers in the humanistic comedies. In Spain, the popularity of this genre during the first half of the sixteenth century includes many works related to the Celestina, but also those authors of humanistic comedies who chose to seek their own popularity independent of the enthusiastic reception given to Rojas' masterpiece. Together, this group of works can be seen to stand over against the specifically dramatic works of the period, those of Juan del Enzina and Bartolomé de Torres Naharro, for instance. This division between two types of works in dialogue can most clearly be seen if we isolate one aspect of the humanistic comedies, the number of divisions in each work. Below is a list of the main

humanistic comedies published after the Celestina with the number of divisions in each:

Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea (1501?)	21 autos
Comedia Thebayda (1520–1)	15 cenas
El retrato de la Lozana andaluza (published in Venice - 1528)	66 mamotretos
Segunda comedia de Celestina (1534)	40 cenas
Tercera parte de Celestina (1536)	50 actos
Tragedia Policiana (1547)	29 actos
Comedia Florinea (1547)	43 cenas

It is evident, when we compare these works with typical dramatic works of the same period, for instance the Ymenea (1517) and the Calamita (1521) by Torres Naharro which, like his other plays, have five jornadas, that the differences in formal structure are enormous. Rather than lumping together all works in dialogue written in imitation of the Celestina during this period, it is probably more helpful to distinguish between such works as those in this list, which comprise the majority of the humanistic comedies, and those written for dramatic performance, such as the aforementioned plays of Torres Naharro. While it is evident that, for the period immediately after the publication of the Celestina, this general division into two distinct genres is very useful, the division has - like most broad classifications - limits beyond which it ceases to be useful, and there is a small number of works that fall outside these categories. The Seraphina, for instance, bound with the Thebayda in the first known edition, has only six acts, yet it displays many of the characteristics of humanistic comedy. Sancho Muñón's Lisandro y Roselia (1542) is a later

continuation of the Celestina tradition in five acts divided into scenes, and which also displays the flexibility of time and space and the erudite monologues we have come to expect of the humanistic comedies. Yet this work, together with the last of the works regarded by Hillard as direct continuations, the Comedia Selvagia (1554), also in five acts, pays repeated attention to theatrical effects and it is debatable whether they were intended for performance or merely written in order to be read.

After the middle of the sixteenth century, there seems to have been little interest in the humanistic comedy as a large-scale work. Irrespective of whether they make reference to the Celestina, works in dialogue tend to be short, and written with dramatic performance in mind. The influence of the Celestina is still immensely important during the period of the Golden Age, but this influence becomes more diffuse and fragmentary, and it becomes increasingly hard to talk in terms of a distinctive Celestinesque genre, as one might justifiably do when dealing with the early continuations of Rojas' work. From the middle of the sixteenth century, it becomes easier to see the more general influence of the Celestina in scenes, characters and turns of phrase borrowed by a wide variety of writers, as happens with any of the other great works of this or any period of literary history.

But the form of the Celestina, with its close affinities to the humanistic comedies, finds few imitators in later centuries. The move away from the extensive prose dialogues of the Tragicomedia begins early in the work's history. In 1513, Pedro Manuel Ximénez

de Urrea included an Égloga de la tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea, prosa trobada en metro, in his Cancionero. Hillard states that this versification 'adds no new elements' to the original version (375n), but surely the stage directions implicit in the Égloga indicate an interest in the dramatic possibilities of the work. It is likely though, that Ximénez de Urrea thought the idea of staging it impractical, given the length of the work, for he breaks off halfway through the first act withthe words 'queda solo Calisto, y ally acaba y por no quedar mal vanse cantando ...' Urrea's unfinished task was carried out a quarter of a century later by Juan Sedeño, who published his Tragicomedia nuevamente trobada en metro castellano in 1540. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the continuing popularity of the Celestina is attested by the frequency which writers of varying distinction borrow directly and indirectly from the work. In Portugal, Gil Vicente is likely to have drawn upon Celestina for the character of Brígida Vaz in Barca do Inferno. The influence of Rojas has also been discerned in the Novelas ejemplares of Cervantes and in his entremeses such as La cueva de Salamanca, La guarda cuidadosa and El rufián viudo. Apart from the celebrated references to the Celestina in Lope's El caballero de Olmedo, Menéndez y Pelayo draws our attention to less well-known influences of the situations and rhetoric of the Tragicomedia in El arenal de Sevilla, El rufián castrucho, El anzuelo de Fenisa and, of course, the character of Gerarda in La Dorotea (Orígenes, iii, 435-56).

Although they cannot be included with the early Celestinesque works, two Golden Age revivals of the character of Celestina ought to be mentioned in passing. In Salas Barbadillo's Escuela de Celestina, which I have mentioned already, the ancient bawd is given yet another lease of life as the rector of a bogus university, giving lessons in the arts of seduction and witchcraft. The light-hearted attitude to witchcraft implied here is also present in another Segunda Celestina, completed by Juan de Vera Tassis nearly two hundred years after the Comedia de Calisto y Melibea made its first appearance. This three-act comedy in verse marks perhaps the point furthest away from the significance of the bawd for her original author. She is here divested of all her supernatural powers, and is reduced to performing a number of parlour tricks, giving an illusion of prescience that is only destined to amuse the audience, composed largely of the leisured classes of Spanish society.

'Total fué el eclipse de La Celestina durante el siglo XVIII', declares Menéndez y Pelayo (iii, 452). This neglect also applies very largely to the nineteenth century, and it was not until a controversy about the existence of Fernando de Rojas was sparked off by R. Foulché-Delbosc and M. Serrano y Sanz at the beginning of this century that a renewal of interest in the work took place.[8] At the time of writing, an opera, a film and no fewer than seven different stage adaptations in Spanish are listed as having been performed,[9] and Spanish scholars have at last accorded their native work the renown that the Celestina undoubtedly deserves.

THE DIFFUSION OF THE CELESTINA ELSEWHERE

Perhaps the most ironic fact to emerge from F.J. Norton's study of the early editions of the Celestina (see note 1, above) is that the earliest extant edition is in fact the Italian translation of the Tragicomedia by Alfonso de Ordóñez, published in Rome in 1506.[10] The immediate popularity of the Celestina in Italy (part of it may have been performed in Rome in 1502, see Scoles, 158n), may be attributed, apart from the intrinsic merit of the work itself, to the work's connections with Italian humanistic comedy.

Sometime before 1527, the Jewish physician and oriental philologist Joseph Ben Samuel Zafarti, had translated the Celestina into Hebrew.[11] This is likely to have been from the original Spanish, but the next three translations owe at least a partial debt to Ordóñez's version. The first of these was the German translation by Christoph Wirsung, published in Augsburg in 1520, and reprinted in 1533 with a few additions, notably the use of the learned pun 'Scelestina' to describe the old bawd.[12] The first French translation was published in Paris in 1527; it was first thought to be entirely based on the Spanish, but in his edition of the French version, Brault demonstrates convincingly that the anonymous translator also consulted the Italian version.[13] A second French version, by Jacques de Lavardin, was published in 1578, also in Paris, and this is also based on the Italian version. In contrast to the anonymous translator, Lavardin takes it upon himself to introduce some changes of his own. The most important

of these modifications concerns the ending of the work; it seems clear that the translator was unhappy with the absence of any religious consolation offered to the reader in Pleberio's final lament on the death of his daughter Melibea. Accordingly, Lavardin introduces Ariston, the brother of Alisa, to debate with Pleberio and bring him nearer to a more orthodox attitude towards death, unmarred by the pessimism of the original.[14] A bilingual edition consisting of the Spanish text and a third French version, also anonymous, was published in 1633 by Charles Osmont in Rouen and Carlos Labayen in Pamplona.[15]

In Northern Europe, there had been a Flemish translation published in Antwerp in 1550.[16] Surprisingly, there was even a Latin translation before the first full English version was published. Gaspar von Barth's Pornoboscodidascalus latinus, published in 1624, is prefaced by an interesting appreciation of the work and followed by copious notes - almost the first critical commentary on the work.[17]

In contrast with the order of the first two French versions, where a complete translation by an anonymous author was later followed by a version containing a modified ending, the first known English version of the Celestina was a shortened adaptation, and only much later was an unaltered version published. Like Lavardin's translation, the Interlude changes the ending of the Tragicomedia to one with a much more orthodox religious slant. It reduces the Spanish work to less than a quarter of its length, versifying parts of the prologue and the first four acts, and includes a few

sentences from Acts V-VI.[18] The borrowings from the Tragicomedia end abruptly after Celestina has persuaded Melibea to hand over her girdle as a cure for Calisto. Melibea's father - here called Danio - graphically describes to his daughter a dream that he has had the previous night, prophesying a tragedy about to befall her. Melibea confesses to him her complicity with Celestina, her father forgives her and ends the Interlude with a homily exhorting the audience to virtuous behaviour and reminding parents of the obligations they have to their children.

W.W. Greg believes the Interlude to have been printed in 1530 or thereabouts.[19] The author is unknown, but it may have been the printer, John Rastell, or a pupil of the Spanish humanist Vives, who was on a visit to England between 1523 and 1528, and whose influence on the Interlude has been detected.[20] As far as the version used by the adapter is concerned, H.D. Purcell has said that 'the lack of evidence for any but a direct Spanish source for the Interlude is well worth emphasizing' (3).

During the rest of the sixteenth century, it seems unquestionable that the Celestina was well-known to English readers, but documentary evidence so far uncovered has proved insufficient to determine whether an English version was in general use. The court of Catherine of Aragon probably introduced the Spanish Celestina into England when she arrived in 1501 to marry Arthur, Prince of Wales, and it is fairly certain that an edition in Spanish was later available to the English public. Ungerer (34) produces evidence that a Comoedia Celestina was in the library of Sir Thomas Smith in 1566 and there

is a reference to 'Lacelestina Comedia in Spanishe' in the Stationers' Register for February 1591.[21] Two other contemporary references indirectly confirm that knowledge of the work was widespread during the latter part of the century. The publication of The Delightful [sic] History of Celestina the Faire for William Barley in 1596 is, in fact, an unlicensed translation of Book II of the chivalric romance Palmerín de Oliva, as Brault has shown.[22] But the very use of the bawd's name as a cover for an unofficial translation surely implies a certain familiarity with the Celestina, especially in view of references to the work earlier in the same century. This familiarity is further evidenced by the numerous examples from the Spanish Tragicomedia that John Minsheu includes in his Spanish Grammar (1599).

I am inclined to agree with Brault ("English Translations...", 308 et passim) that several scattered references to the Celestina that appear in English literature throughout the century may imply only a vague knowledge of the Spanish version and that it is not necessary to postulate an English translation during the course of the century. Ungerer (36), for instance, finds a particularly plausible reference to 'the most famous history of ij spanesshe lovers' in the Stationers' Register for 1569-70 (Arber, i, 192). Brault, however, draws our attention to a play by Davenant published in 1673 entitled The Spanish Lovers ("English Translations...", 310n) to show that we cannot argue a strong case for an English Celestina merely on the similarity of a title. But there are good reasons for believing that there was an English translation at the close of the

century. The description given in the Stationers' Register for October 1598:

> The Tragick Comedye of Celestina./ wherein are discoursed in most pleasant stile manye Philosophicall sentences and advertisementes verye necessarye for Younge gentleman Discoveringe the sleightes of treacherous servants and the subtile cariages of filthye bawdes./ (Arber, iii, 42)

is so reminiscent of the title-page of the Tragicomedia, that the case for an English translation in the sixteenth century is strengthened considerably. But if this work was ever printed, it has since been lost.

Sometime during the next ten years, James Mabbe was working on a draft for his Spanish Bawd, which was eventually to be published in 1631. The editor of this manuscript, Guadalupe Martínez Lacalle, who rediscovered it in the library of Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, believes that the incomplete draft of Mabbe's translation was composed between 1603 and 1611 and that the 1598 entry in the Stationers' Register may well have been the origin of the Alnwick manuscript.[23] If it was Mabbe's original intention to publish this draft version in the first decade of the seventeenth century, he may later have regretted that he did not do so. Mabbe decided to leave the publication of The Spanish Bawd until the third decade of the century, a period that was, according to Warner Allen (lxxix), an "evil hour" in Anglo-Spanish relations, and the response to the work seems to have been unenthusiastic.

The reprinting of Mabbe's translation by J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly in 1894,[24] is rightly held to mark the beginning of an

intense revival of interest in a work that had long lain neglected by English readers, an interest that has increased as the century has progressed. Four English translations were published separately in the decade after 1955.[25] A radio adaptation was performed by the B.B.C. in 1954 and repeated in 1969, and an adaptation of Mabbe's translation was used by Joan Littlewood's Theatre Workshop for a stage performance in 1958.

But evidence is beginning to come to light that, during those two and a half centuries, the Celestina, and especially Mabbe's translation of it, was not so neglected as was once supposed. Right in the middle of this supposed period of inactivity there was the publication of a curious work entitled The Scotch Marine: or, Memoirs of the Life of Celestina. An undated copy of the work is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and, according to the catalogue, the work was printed sometime after 1752. The subject has nothing to do with the bawd Celestina, like William Barley's Celestina the Faire, and neither has the work anything to do with Spain. In this work Celestina is a young Scottish lass who travels for two years disguised as a man in different parts of Scotland. She meets a North Briton named Cario, whom she subsequently marries. They travel south of the border and after many adventures in England they return to Scotland where they presumably settle down happily.

The use of the name Celestina in this work may be coincidental, but it may equally be evidence that the Spanish work was still well-

known among English readers. This is particularly plausible in view of the growing interest in popular Spanish works of literature during the second half of the seventeenth century. I shall elaborate on this in the next chapter, but it is worthwhile mentioning in conclusion that Mabbe's translation was neglected but not forgotten during this period. Gerald Langbaine mentions The Spanish Bawd in his Account of the English Dramatick Poets (1691) and concludes:

> This play is originally Spanish, and translated into English by a Spaniard, one Don Diego Puede-ser... [26]

The use of Mabbe's pseudonym shows how soon the author had been forgotten, but it is nevertheless evident that his translation was still not entirely forgotten. Furthermore, the two adaptations of 1707, Celestina: or, the Spanish Bawd. A Tragi-Comedy and Captain Stevens' Bawd of Madrid, which together occupy the major place in this study, are strong evidence for believing that there were at least some people who were determined that the Celestina should be better known in England than it had previously been.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. In his Manual del librero hispanoamericano, iii (2a ed., Barcelona and Madrid: Palau, 1950), Antonio Palau y Dulcet lists 55 well-attested editions of the Celestina before 1599 (iii, 363-6), as opposed to 23 editions of the Ingenioso hidalgo and the two-part Quijote (not including three editions of the Segunda parte del Quijote) before 1705 (iii, 394-7). Clara Louisa Penney lists 92 editions before 1599, excluding those known to her only through the references of other bibliographers (The Book Called Celestina (New York, 1954), 94-112). In view of the many different versions and modifications made to the original Comedia de Calisto y Melibea, I use the term 'Celestina' where no specific version is intended. Elsewhere I use the usual name of any version (e.g. Comedia, Tragicomedia, Mabbe's translation The Spanish Bawd, etc.). Since the bibliographical researches of F.J.Norton in Printing in Spain 1501-1520 (Cambridge U.P., 1966), 141-56, reveal, amongst other useful information, that the Libro de Calixto y Melibea, which was used by M. Criado de Val and G.D. Trotter as the basis for their edition (Madrid, 1958), was printed not in 1502 but c.1518-20 (Norton, 151), their edition is unfortunately no longer reliable. I have therefore used Dorothy S. Severin's critical edition of the 1514 Valencia text (Madrid, 1968) which, although it uses modern orthography, takes account of the new bibliographical information and is an improvement on Julio Cejador y Frauca's rather erratic edition of the same text (Madrid, 1913).

2. Orígenes de la novela, 4 vols. (1910; reprinted in Edición Nacional, Madrid and Santander: Conseje Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1943), iii, 454.

3. Spanish Imitations of the Celestina (University of Illinois, 1957), summarized in Dissertation Abstracts, xviii, no.2 (Feb.1958), 558-9.

4. La originalidad artística de la Celestina (2a ed., Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria, 1969), 37-50.
For a more detailed treatment of the Italian humanistic comedies, see D. Radcliffe-Umstead, The Birth of Modern Comedy in Renaissance Italy (Chicago U.P., 1969) and Edwin J. Webber, "Hispano-Italian Renaissance Drama. Notes on Opportunities and Problems", Renaissance Drama, vii (1964), 151-7.

5. See also Gregory G. LaGrone, "Salas Barbadillo and the Celestina," HR, ix (1941), 440-58; M.A. Peyton, Alonso Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo (New York: Twayne, 1972).

6. "Literary Tradition and Social Reality in La Celestina," BHS, xli (1964), 230-7, at pp. 233-5.

7. The Spain of Fernando de Rojas: the intellectual and social landscape of La Celestina (Princeton U.P., 1972). For an earlier examination of the general background of the work, see José Antonio Maravall, El mundo social de La Celestina (Madrid: Gredos, 1964). A work just published which I had not been able to consult before

this thesis was typed, is Pierre Heugas, La Célestine et sa descendance directe (Univ. of Bordeaux Press, 1973). It is therefore discussed in an Addendum, see below, pp.246-8.

8. R. Foulché-Delbosc, "Observations sur la Célestine," RHi, vii (1900), 28-80 and 510, ix (1902), 171-99 and some afterthoughts in RHi, lxxviii, 1 (1930), 544-99. M. Serrano y Sanz, "Noticias biográficas de Fernando de Rojas ...," Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos, 3a época, vi (1902), 245-60.

9. See Originalidad, 105n ; the authors of the seven adaptations in Spanish are: Francisco Fernández Villegas (Madrid, 1909); Pedro Miranda Carnero (Madrid, 1917); Felipe Lluch Garín (Madrid, 1940); José Ricardo Morales (Montevideo, 1949); Álvaro Custodio (Mexico, 1953); Luis Escobar (Madrid, 1957); and Escobar again in collaboration with Huberto Pérez de la Ossa (Madrid, 1959).

10. The full title of Ordóñez's translation is Tragicocomedia di Calisto e Melibea nouamente traducta de Spagnolo in Italiano idioma, printed by Eucharium Silber alias Franck (Rome, 1506).
See Kathleen V. Kish, An Edition of the First Italian Translation of the Celestina (Univ. of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures 128, Chapel Hill, 1973); Emma Scoles, "Note sulla prima traduzione italiana della Celestina," Studj Romanzi, xxxiii (1961), 157-217.

11. See U. Cassuto, "The First Hebrew Comedy," Jewish Studies in Memory of George A. Kohut (New York, 1935), 121-8.

12. Ain Hipsche Tragedia võ zwaien liebhabendñ, printed by Sigismund Grym and Mark Wirsung (Augsburg, 1520).

13. Celestine. A Critical Edition of the first French Translation (1527) ed. Gerald J. Brault (Detroit: Wayne State U.P., 1963). See also Gustav Ungerer, Anglo-Spanish Relations in Tudor Literature (Berne and Madrid: Francke Verlag, 1956), 176.

14. La Celestine fidellement repurgee, et mise en meilleure forme, printed by Nicholas Bonfons (Paris, 1578). A critical edition by Denis L. Drysdall is in press (London: Tamesis). See also A.D. Deyermond, "La crítica de La Celestina, de Jacques de Lavardin," Hispanófila, no. 13 (Sept. 1961), 1-4.

15. There is a copy of each of these editions in the British Library (Rouen - 1072.e.28; Pamplona - 11726.aa.21). In her Book Called Celestina (118), Penney says the 1644 Rouen edition is without the Spanish original, but the British Library copy (242.h.30) retains the Spanish text without apparent alteration.

16. Celestina. Ende is een Tragicomedie van Calisto eñ Melibea, printed by Hans de Laet (Antwerp, 1550).

17. Pornoboscodidascalus latinus, printed by Danielem & Davidem Aubrios & Clementem Schlechium (Frankfurt, 1624). See Marcel Bataillon, La Célestine selon Fernando de Rojas (Paris: Didier, 1961), 251-68. The only serious attempt at a critical commentary before von Barth is the Celestina comentada, an anonymous sixteenth-century manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid; see P.E. Russell, "The Celestina comentada," Medieval Hispanic Studies presented to Rita Hamilton (London: Tamesis, in press).

18. A new comodye in englysh in maner of an enterlude, printed by John Rastell ([London?], [1530?]). The best edition of the Interlude is that of H.Warner Allen, Celestina or the Tragi-Comedy of Calisto and Melibea. Trans. ... by James Mabbe ... Also an Interlude of Calisto and Melebea ([1908]: repr. London: Routledge, [1928]). I have also used this edition for my study of Mabbe's translation The Spanish Bawd. See also H.D. Purcell, "The Celestina and the Interlude of Calisto and Melebea," BHS, xxxix (1967), 1-15, at p.3.

19. A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration, i (Oxford, 1939), 87.

20. The case for Rastell's authorship was first proposed by A.W. Reed, "John Rastell's Plays," The Library, 3rd series, x (1919), 1-17; see also Ungerer, 26-30. Earlier, A.S.W. Rosenbach was the first to notice possible borrowings from Vives in "The Influence of the Celestina in the Early English Drama," Shakespeare Jahrbuch, xxxix (1903), 43-61; see also Warner Allen, 330-2.

21. See A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers in London 1552-1640, ed. Edward Arber, i (London, 1875), 192.

22. Gerald J. Brault, "English Translations of the Celestina in the Sixteenth Century," HR, xxviii (1960), 301-12, at 305-7. There is an imperfect copy of Celestina the Faire in the British Library (1077.e.9.).

23. Celestine or the Tragick-Comedie of Calisto and Melibea. (London: Tamesis, 1972), 34.

24. Tudor Translations, vi (London, 1894), and second series ii-v (London, 1925).

25. L.B. Simpson (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1955); M.H. Singleton (Madison, Wis., 1958); Phyllis Hartnoll (London, 1959); and J.M. Cohen (Harmondsworth, 1964). On the translations of Simpson, Hartnoll and Cohen, see Janet A. Chapman, "Three Translations of the Celestina," The New Vida Hispánica, xiv, no.3 (Winter, 1966), 12-16; on the last two of these see Guadalupe Martínez Lacalle, "Two Recent Translations of La Celestina," RLC, xlv (1971), 222-8. On Singleton and Hartnoll, see A. Irvine Watson, MLR lv (1960), 288-90

26. ed. J. Loftis (Los Angeles, 1971) ii, 550-1.

CHAPTER II

THE LITERARY BACKGROUND OF THE TWO ADAPTATIONS

It would be absurd to suggest that the interest in translating Spanish literature sprang up fully-fledged during the second half of the seventeenth century. The Interlude and James Mabbe's translation of the Celestina are two examples of a large body of translations and reworkings of Spanish books that had been made during the previous period of more than a century. Indeed, translators of the Restoration and early seventeenth-century period spent much of their time refurbishing versions of foreign works that were first turned into English during these early years. And, to be sure, there was no lack of these translations. Dale B.J. Randall devotes an entire book to the non-chivalric fiction in English translation written in the century or so before the restoration of English monarchy in 1660. He sees the Augustan translators as continuing a tradition of interest in Spanish language and literature that had flourished in the early years of the seventeenth century. After mentioning a spate of Spanish grammars and similar books that had been produced between 1590 and 1626, Randall continues:

> As time slipped by, however, and Queen Henrietta Maria turned England's eyes towards France, there were fewer and fewer Spanish language texts until, reaching 1640, we look out over a long, dry gap that stretches almost to the Restoration. At last, in 1659, we find James Howell's Particular Vocabulary; in the following year, his Lexicon tetraglotton; and, in 1662...Another Grammar of the Spanish or Castilian Toung.

This renewed interest in Spain also extends to the theatre. True, dramatists of the Restoration period were dominated by the precepts of the Classical theorists, especially Aristotle and Horace, but having exploited the resources of the French theatre, they turned increasingly to Spain for plots, characters and local colour. John Dryden was one of the early enthusiasts for Spanish drama. In his theoretical essay Of Dramatick Poesie (1667), he compares the French and Spanish theatres and, although the works of Lope and Calderón come off second best from the encounter, Dryden's main quarrel with Spanish dramatic theory is that it has moved too far away from the norms of the Classical theorists.[2] But the fact that Dryden and numerous of his contemporaries borrowed extensively from Spanish plays is sufficient proof that what they lacked in precept from the point of view of the rigid neo-Classicist, Spanish dramatists made up for in ingenuity. Dryden's An Evening's Love (1668) is considerably influenced by Calderón's El astrólogo fingido as is The Indian Emperour (1665) by the same author's El príncipe constante. Other English dramatists, often lacking Dryden's native ingenuity, borrow more freely from Calderón. For instance, Aphra Behn's The Young King (1683) is based on La vida es sueño and a much later work, Love in a Veil (1718) by Richard Savage, on Peor está que estaba, to mention two of the many debts owed to Calderón and other Spanish dramatists.[3] Gradually, this interest in Spanish plots became something of a convention. Increasing numbers of plays, in themselves merely the conception of English dramatists who knew nothing or very little about Spain, nevertheless feature imaginary Spanish characters, customs and locale; a literary environment of

half-baked notions that bore very little relationship to the reality of contemporary Spain.

But a more consistent literary interest connects England and Spain throughout the seventeenth century, the interest in criminal fiction and other low-life literature, and we can best appreciate the significance of these two early eighteenth-century adaptations of the Celestina by first setting them in this context. Both works, it will be noticed, are published together with other examples of Spanish picaresque literature.

Captain John Stevens entitles his collection of four translated works The Spanish Libertines, and each piece illustrates some aspect of Spanish low-life. The Country Jilt is an English version of La pícara Justina, first published in Medina del Campo in 1605 and said in the preface to Stevens' collection to be 'Written by the Licentiate Francisco de Ubeda, a Native of Toledo' (sig. $A3^a$). As to the two pieces that follow The Bawd of Madrid, little is known about the author of the play (called An Evenings Adventures on the first title-page and modified to An Evenings Intrigue before the play itself); the preface describes him as 'Don John de Avila, a very Modern Writer, long since the famous Poets, Lope de Vega, Don Rodrigo Calderon and others' ($A4^a$).[4] The play itself is a fairly trivial comedy of manners which exposes the deceits of two men trying to arrange a counterfeit marriage. Estevanillo Gonzales, the Spanish version of which was first published in Anvers in 1646, was probably meant to be the showpiece of the collection. The author of the preface declares that:

> in the Opinion of many, [Estevanillo Gonzales] seems to have out-done Lazarillo de Tormes, Guzman de Alfarache, and all the other Rogues that have hitherto appear'd in Print.
>
> He should have had the first place in the book, but that the Original did not come to hand till the other three Pieces were Printed, which was the occasion of inverting the Order, and placing him after the Play. (sig. A4[a-b])

The other adaptation, Celestina: or, the Spanish Bawd. A Tragi-Comedy (hereafter called A Tragi-Comedy), is preceded by an English version of one of the books mentioned in connection with Estevanillo Gonzales, Guzmán de Alfarache, which occupies the first volume and three-quarters of the second volume of this two-volume work. The Vida del pícaro Guzmán de Alfarache was written by Mateo Alemán, the first part being published in Madrid in 1599, and the second part in Lisbon in 1604. The Life of Guzman was not the first translation or even the first English version. A French translation of the first part by Gabriel Chappuys appeared in Paris in 1600 - well before the publication of the second part of Guzmán in Lisbon. The first Italian translation was in 1606: Barezzo Barezzi, who translated the first part, brought out his version of the second part in 1616. It was this translation, together with the Spanish original, that James Mabbe consulted for his translation The Rogue, published in London in 1622. This version, the first in English, was acclaimed as one of the best prose works of its day by English readers, possibly, as Martínez Lacalle observes, owing to the impoverished standard of wit in prose works of the period, but:

principally to the fact that English readers were already familiar with a kind of literature very similar to the picaresque genre: beggar-books and literature of low life by authors like Robert Green, Thomas Middleton, Thomas Nashe, etc., had been popular in England for about a century before The Rogue. (17)[5]

The first edition of Mabbe's Rogue was reprinted in the following year, a second edition was published in Oxford in 1630, and a third and fourth in London in 1634 and 1656. The lasting popularity of Guzmán is further confirmed by two abridged versions, one published in 1655 to coincide with Mabbe's fourth edition, and another printed at the turn of the century.[6] Following much the same pattern as the Celestina in Spain, the success of the English version of Guzmán is also corroborated by the number of works with similar titles published throughout the period of the Restoration and the early eighteenth century. The necessity for the sub-title of The Life of Guzman, The Spanish Rogue, becomes clear if we consider a few of these works. Probably the first of these was, predictably enough, The Sonne of the Rogue (1638), 'Englished by W.M.' This was followed by a spate of such works: Richard Head's English Rogue (1665), then The English Guzman and The Dutch Rogue (1683), The French Rogue (1694) and a play entitled The Spanish Rogue, published in 1674. In 1701, Head's English Rogue was republished, followed by three other heroes from nearer home, The Scotch Rogue (1706), The Highland Rogue (1723) and, two years later, a biography of The Matchless Rogue: Tom Merryman, commonly called Newgate Tom.[7] Given the seemingly inexhaustible appetite for such works among the literate population in and around London, it should not surprise us that the publisher of

The Spanish Libertines should have wished to give pride of place to the only item in the collection that dealt specifically with a male rogue, Estevanillo Gonzales.

But the books about the exploits of male rogues are, of course, only a small part of the criminal fiction that constituted the staple literary diet of a large section of the reading public. To give an indication of the scope of this wide-ranging interest, it is sufficient to mention one of the more popular collections of criminal annals which first appeared in 1713 and dealt with 'the Lives and Robberies of the Most Noted Highway-Men, Foot-Pads, House-Breakers, Shop-Lifts and Cheats of both Sexes in and about Westminster'.[8] It is clear from the reference to 'both Sexes' that female criminals were, by this time, getting as much attention as their male counterparts. The exploits of prostitutes, jilts and bawds may have taken longer to become enshrined in popular fiction, but there is nothing to suggest that now, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, they have any less appeal to an audience which was, after all, still predominantly male. The appearance of The Spanish Jilt and the two adaptations (both of which give the bawd Celestina her due prominence) during this period is at least partly to do with this interest in, and concern for, the vulnerability of the female sex in the metropolis. I devote my last chapter to the relevance of the Celestina to early eighteenth-century London, but it is worth mentioning in passing that while some of this concern was undoubtedly well-meant, it did give less

scrupulous members of London society, impecunious journalists, for instance, the opportunity to make financial capital out of the more prurient without laying themselves open to the accusation that they were encouraging such deeds themselves. One such individual who will cross our path later was John Dunton who, in the pamphlet series, The Night Walker, or, Evening Rambles in search of Lewd Women, claims he has 'a very good Correspondence' with the civic authorities (B^b). Later in the same pamphlet (for September 1696) he declares that he has for a long time 'been griev'd at those prophane things which are openly practis'd in our Streets, and which have made this famous City a second Sodom';($B2^b$). However, having declared his pious intent, he then proceeds to describe his encounters in lurid detail. In the same journalist's Whipping Post, published in 1706, he has a section entitled The Whoring-Paquet, or News of the St—ns [probably 'Stallions' i.e., bullies] and Kept M—s's ['Misses'], which is a roll-call of contemporary social scandals using only the initials of noted personages, their paramours and places in London to preserve anonymity.[9] From The Term Catalogues we learn that many of the books and pamphlets printed in the same decade as the two adaptations of the Celestina deal with [illegible] similar subjects. Notable among these are Edward Ward's The Insinuating Baud: and The Repenting Harlot (1700) (iii,218) and, in 1707, Essays of Love and Marriage which contained 'Characters of a Whore, a Patentee... a Gallant' (iii,536). After the publication of The Spanish Libertines,

several other novels about Spanish women are mentioned in The Term Catalogues: in 1709, a translation of Cervantes' La gitanilla (iii,650) and, in May 1711, 'Three Ingenious Spanish Novels, viz. 1. The Loving Revenge, or, Wit in a Woman. 2. The Lucky Escape, or, The Jilt Detected. 3. The Witty Extravagant' (iii, 678). In his excellent study on the forerunners of the realistic novel in England, John J. Richetti stresses the importance and popularity of the pamphlets published by the Ordinaries, the chaplains of Newgate Prison and of the trial reports from the Old Bailey. Among the cases he mentions is that of Deborah Churchill, a prostitute who was hanged for murder in 1708, and whose life was the subject of a pamphlet issued in the same year. The biographies of whores, apart from those who plied their trade in the upper echelons of society, did not become really popular until some time later. Notable among these is the short-lived annual The School of Venus (1715-6) published by Captain Alexander Smith. Later accounts of notorious women include pamphlets on Sally Salisbury (1723), Eliz. [abeth?] Mann (1724) and the two novels of Daniel Defoe, Moll Flanders (1722) and Roxana (1724).[10]

This literary background to the two adaptations of the Celestina is an attempt to show how much they are typical products of their age. After discussing some problems of their printing, I shall consider each in turn, examining how each adaptation modifies the very Spanish work on which it is based to fit the different demands of English readers.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. The Golden Tapestry-A Critical Survey of Non-chivalric Spanish Fiction in English Translation (1543-1657). (Durham, N. Carolina: Duke U.P., 1963), 20.

2. See John Loftis, "Dryden's Criticism of Spanish Drama," The Augustan Milieu, Essays presented to Louis A. Landa (London: Oxford U.P., 1970), 18-31.

3. For an idea of the extent of this debt to Spanish drama, see Floriana T. Hogan, "Notes on Thirty-one English Plays and Their Spanish Sources", Restoration and 18th Century Research, vi (1967), 56-9.

4. I have, despite much kind assistance, been unable to identify any Spanish dramatist of this or any similar name. Among the authors consulted for his New Spanish and English Dictionary (London, 1706), Captain Stevens mentions the 'Comedias ... of Fernando de Avila' (sig. $A2^{b}$). The only play by this author in the British Library, Todo cabe en lo posible (1666) (shelved at 11725.c.5.) is a verse tragedy dealing with the history of ancient Greece and bears no resemblance to An Evenings Adventures Stevens' mention of Rodrigo Calderón seems to be merely an error. Elsewhere in the aforementioned list in his Dictionary, he mentions the comedies 'of Don Pedro Calderon' (sig. $A2^{b}$). Don Rodrigo Calderón rose to political eminence

in Spain during the early seventeenth century, but does not seem to have been the author of any [redacted] plays. For further details see Marcel Bataillon, "Don Rodrigo Calderón anversois," Bulletin de l' Academie Royale de Belgique (Classe de Lettres), 5e série, 45 (1959), no. 12, 595-616; "Les nouveaux chrétiens dans l'essor du roman picaresque," Neophilologus, xlviii (1964), 283-98.

5. Edmund Cros, Protée et le Gueux (Paris: Didier, 1967), 103-18; Celestine or the Tragick-Comedie of Calisto and Melibea, ed. Guadalupe Martínez Lacalle (London: Tamesis, 1972), 14-16; P.E. Russell, "English Seventeenth-Century Interpretations of Spanish Literature," Atlante, i (1953), 65-77, at.p.71.

6. The 1655 version was 'Epitomiz'd into English by A.S. Gent' (Bodleian Library, at E.1449.1/3). The later version, undated and anonymous, is thought to have been printed around 1700, according to the catalogue in the same library (shelved at Vet. A4.f.92). There is another copy of this anonymous edition in the British Library (12490.aa.20). For further details of the diffusion of Guzmán in England, see Randall, 173-84 and 188-93.

7. R.M. Wiles, Serial Publications in England Before 1750 (Cambridge U.P., 1957), 76; The Term Catalogues, ed. Edward Arber, ii (London: privately published, 1906), 28; ii,522; i,163; ii,279;

John J. Richetti, Popular Fiction Before Richardson Narrative Patterns 1700-1739 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 41-6.

8. Taken from Captain Alexander Smith's collection of Histories, quoted in Richetti, 45-6.

9. The Night Walker was published from September 1696 until February the following year (British Library G.14037). Another collection of Dunton's pamphlets, including his Whipping Post is found in the British Library at G.13722.

10. Richetti, 24-32.

CHAPTER III

THE PUBLICATION OF THE TWO ADAPTATIONS

In the next six chapters I shall consider the two adaptations individually, examining salient aspects of each. First, however, I look more closely in this chapter at the way the two works as a whole were published, particularly since they were brought out at the same time, and may therefore have influenced each other. In doing so, I also try to account for the title-page dating of volume one of The Life of Guzman being a year after that of volume two.

The earliest mention of either work comes in the quarterly publication lists for the period, edited by Edward Arber at the beginning of this century.[1] They mostly concern books printed in London , and it was the normal procedure for many works to be announced a term or more before publication in the section of the lists entitled 'Advertisements'. This section for the Easter Term, May 1707 begins (the interpolations are those of Arber):

> In the Press and will speedily be published,
> The Life and Actions of (Guzman de) Alfarache. Newly done into English; and illustrated with about 20 curious Copper Cuts, design'd by Boulats of Antwerp. In 2 Vol. Octavo.
> Also The Life of Lazarillo de Tormes, Newly done into English from a neat Edition lately printed at Brussels; and illustrated with near 20 Copper Cuts by Hervewyn of that Place. Twelves. (iii,550)

It is worth noting that there is no reference to the Celestina in this announcement. We shall see a little later that both works mentioned above were printed for the same group of booksellers.

There is no similar advertisement for The Spanish Libertines before its publication.

According to The Term Catalogues, the two books containing the adaptations were published concurrently, appearing in different sections of the lists for November of the same year.

The Life of Guzman again appears with Lazarillo de Tormes under 'History':

> 11. The Life of Guzman d'Alfarache, Or The Spanish Rogue. To which is added, The Celebrated Tragi-Comedy, Celestina [, by (Fernando de) Rojas]. Written in Spanish by (Mateo) Aleman. Done into English from the New French Version, and compared with the Original; by several Hands. Adorn'd with Sculptures by (Gaspar) Bouttats. In Two Volumes. In Octavo.
> 12. The Life and Adventures of Lazarillo de Tormes, written by himself; translated from the Original Spanish [of (Diego) Hurtado de Mendoza]; and illustrated with 20 Copper Cuts. In Two Parts, in Twelves.
> Both printed for R. Bonwicke, W. Freeman, T. Goodwin, J. Walthoe, M. Wotton, S. Manship, J. Nicholson, R. Parker, B. Tooke and R. Smith. (iii, 571).

The publication of The Spanish Libertines is announced several pages later under the heading 'Miscellanies':

> 9. The Spanish Libertines, or The Lives of Justina, the Country Jilt[, by (Francisco) Lòpez de Ubeda ps., i.e. Andres Perez]; Celestina, the Bawd of Madrid[, by (Fernando de) Rojas]; and (Estevanillo) Gonzales, the most Arch and Comical of Scoundrels: to which is added a Play, call'd An Evenings Adventures[, by (Juan de) Avila]. All four written by Eminent Spanish Authors and now first made English by Capt. John Stevens. Octavo. Printed for J. How at the Seven Stars in Talbot Court, in Grace-Church Street. (iii, 574)

There is nothing noticeably unusual about these two entries. While, as I have said, works were often announced a term or so before publication, it is equally true from other entries in The Term Catalogues, such as that for The Spanish Libertines, that some works were announced only at the time of actual publication. But it is

puzzling that the two volumes of The Life of Guzman should have been announced together in November 1707, when the first volume carries the date 1708 (see Appendix 1, page41).

Of the possible explanations of this discrepancy between the two volumes, only two seem to me to require serious discussion.. The simplest is that the date 1708 in the first volume is a printer's error which was corrected in the setting-up of the type for the title-page of volume two. This is a possible explanation, but it may be an oversimplification in view of a number of other factors that we would do well to consider. The first concerns one of the printing conventions of the eighteenth century. The month of November was regarded by printers as the end of the publishing year. Referring to eighteenth-century printing practice, J. Nichols declared that 'The Rule in general observed among Printers is, that when a Book happens not to be ready for publication in November, the date of the ensuing year is used'.[2] If The Life of Guzman was announced in The Term Catalogues for November 1707, we may assume that the second volume, which bears the date 1707, was indeed published in that month. But equally, if the date in volume one is not a printer's error, then it is likely that this was brought out in the following month, if not early in 1708.

What might have delayed the publication of the first volume? We have already seen that there was no mention of the adaptation A Tragi-Comedy in the first announcement of May 1707 and it may well be that The Life of Guzman was originally destined to be published alone in two volumes. If we examine the two volumes closely, we can

observe a number of details which corroborate this and suggest that A Tragi-Comedy was added as an afterthought. In the first volume, there is no reference to the Celestina apart from the announcement on the title-page. Neither the 'Epistle Dedicatory', nor 'The English Translators Preface', expansive and carefully written as they are,[3] offers the least allusion to the presence of another work in the latter part of volume two. In the second volume, though the signatures continue uninterrupted into the text of A Tragi-Comedy (see Appendix 1, page242), there is at least one firm indication that the text of the adaptation was appended in some haste. The preface to A Tragi-Comedy forms a marked contrast with the prefatory material to the first volume. It has been set in smaller type and crammed on to the recto side of folio Co3. Its wild, categorical generalisations are most unlike the well-reasoned arguments which commend Guzmán to the English reader in the first volume, and this preface gives the overall impression that it has been written in undue haste, possibly to a printer's specification. We may conjecture that the printer could not wait for the writer to produce the required preface and proceeded to set up the adaptation in type, because of the need for urgency in printing the whole work, leaving only a page which, he calculated, ought to have been enough space for the short preface which was still to come to hand.[4]

When we come to consider why the adaptation may have been added to The Life of Guzman in such haste, we would do well to bring into play here a remote, but possibly very relevant, allusion in the preface to the other work in question, The Spanish Libertines. The writer

talks of Estevanillo Gonzales as having 'out-done Lazarillo de Tormes, Guzman de Alfarache, and all the other Rogues' ($A4^a$). It does not seem a complete coincidence to me that another group of booksellers was commissioning the printing of precisely these two works during the same period of time, and this therefore constitutes nothing less than a sideways swipe at a rival publishing concern.

Given that there was rivalry between the two groups of booksellers in question,[5] and that it was indeed the original intention of the larger group to publish The Life of Guzman on its own, those involved in producing The Life of Guzman may well have had second thoughts if they learnt subsequently that plans were afoot to publish another work about Spanish roguery. The absence of an entry in The Term Catalogues for The Spanish Libertines before the month of its publication may be adequately explained if the preparation of the work was undertaken in some secrecy. The booksellers involved may have wanted to bring out the work either before or concurrently with The Life of Guzman. Since it contains four works about roguery in only one volume, The Spanish Libertines must have seemed an unquestionably better selling prospect.

Once they had got wind of the rival publication, it is reasonable to suppose that both the adapters and their booksellers would have felt that some addition to The Life of Guzman would improve its sales. The popularity of Mabbe's Rogue had no doubt encouraged the adapters to bring out their own modernized version, but the sudden appearance of a competitor, The Spanish Libertines, must have changed the situation, and the inclusion of another work thought to be

by Mateo Alemán may well have seemed the best solution to the problem. If they could not match The Spanish Libertines for quantity, they could certainly try to match it for quality. Such an addition would of necessity involve a certain amount of additional printing. Each volume would require a new title-page, and it may have been necessary to make a regrouping of pages between the two volumes, though if volume two was taken up with only Part Two of The Life of Guzman, it would already have fewer pages than the first volume, and the insertion of some fifty more leaves would have made the length of the two volumes more nearly equal. Be that as it may, this additional printing would have taken valuable time and it is understandable that the 'competitive' part of the work - volume two - might be bound and delivered to the booksellers first, probably in the month of November; the booksellers could always promise to deliver the first volume to their customers at a later date, possibly December 1707 or early 1708.

Without more conclusive evidence, it is difficult to know whether the date 1708 for volume two of The Life of Guzman is simply a printer's error. It is difficult, however, to ignore a number of other clues on which it is, as we have seen, interesting to speculate. I am personally inclined to the belief that there is more behind this discrepancy than merely the momentary error of a type-setter.

It does not appear that The Life of Guzman was reprinted in subsequent years. Although we have no tangible proof that

The Spanish Libertines was published again, since the only copies that survive are dated 1707, The Term Catalogues has another entry for the work with its title-page considerably expanded in Easter and Trinity Term of 1709, under the heading 'History':

> 17. The Spanish Libertines. Containing, I. The Life of [Justina,] the Country Jilt; giving an account of her Pedigree, the Qualifications of her Ancestors, particularly her Father and Mother who kept an Inn; the wicked Instructions they gave her, which discovers the Tricks and Villanous Practices of Inn Keepers; their miserable Death and Strange Funeral; her Ramble on a Pilgrimage, with her mad Pranks, cunning Intrigues, notable Cheats and Marriage; also a Pleasant Description of her Wedding and Suiters. II. [Celestina.] The Town Bawd; shewing the many cunning Artifices and subtile Insinuations those Creatures use to Debauch young Ladies, and trick Gentlemen with Sham Maidenheads, etc. Exemplified in several Amorous, Surprizing and Tragical, Stories; with her deplorable Death. III. The Life and Extravagant Actions of (Estevanillo) Gonzales, an Arch Villain; Predecessor and Tutor to Guzman [d'Alfarache], and Lazarillo de Tormes. Written by himself. To which is added, An Evening Adventure, a Play; newly translated from the Spanish[, by Captain John Stevens]. Printed for J. Phillips at the Black Bull in Cornhill. (iii,644)

Despite the assurances given by this announcement that this version is 'newly Translated from the Spanish', we would probably not be far wrong in supposing that very little but the title-page is really new in this volume. Nor does the fact that there was no further entry for The Life of Guzman suggest that it was completely eclipsed by The Spanish Libertines; the reiterated declaration in this entry that Estevanillo Gonzales is 'Predecessor and Tutor to Guzman, and Lazarillo de Tormes' is one small indication that these last two works and A Tragi-Comedy had not been completely ignored in the two years that followed their publication.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. The Term Catalogues, 1668-1709 A.D. 3 vols. (London: privately published, 1906). Vol. I covers the years 1668-82; II, 1683-96; and III, 1697-1709.

2. Literary Anecdotes, iii (London, 1812), 249n.

3. See Prefaces to Three Eighteenth-Century Novels, selected by Claude E. Jones (Augustan Reprint Society, Publication No. 64, Los Angeles: Univ. of California Press, 1957). In his introduction, Jones describes the preface to Guzman as stating 'several of the apologies for prose fiction which were to be current in England throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' (ii).

4. I am grateful to Mr. Dixon for this last suggestion.

5. Since the entry in The Term Catalogues for The Spanish Libertines mentions 'J. How' (iii, 574) and the actual title-page mentions 'Samuel Bunchley' I take it that more than one bookseller was involved with the production of The Spanish Libertines.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOURCES OF A TRAGI-COMEDY

An examination of the sources of the dramatic adaptation is to a large extent hampered by its anonymity. Knowing the identity of the author might have helped us in establishing the sources he used; we could try to find out, for example, whether or not he knew Spanish. Yet we can also approach this problem from the other end; studying the character and sources of a work may in its turn shed some light on the identity of the author, so I shall examine the question of authorship last of all.

So far I have assumed, and probably wrongly as we shall see, that this is the work of one author. The only firm indication we have as to the authorship of A Tragi-Comedy is the assertion on the title-page of The Life of Guzman that the book was composed 'By several Hands'. This is, of course, ambiguous; it could refer either to Guzman alone, or to both works. Although chapter VI is devoted to speculation about the authorship, I shall assume for the next two chapters that the statement on the title-page is correct and refer to the adapters in the plural throughout.

We begin our inquiry into the sources of A Tragi-Comedy with perhaps the most puzzling remark of the whole adaptation. The preface to the work begins thus:

> Whoever will give themselves the Trouble to read over Mateo Aleman's Celebrated Dramatick Poem, call'd Celestina, or, the Spanish Bawd, will, we hope, find the English Play as diverting at least as the Spanish. (II, 2C3a)

Why were the adapters under the impression that Mateo Alemán wrote the Celestina? It cannot be that the clue contained in the acrostic verses of the Tragicomedia was still unknown, for in his preamble to The Spanish Libertines, published in the same year, 1707, Captain Stevens uses these verses to attribute the authorship of the Celestina to Fernando de Rojas.[1] The reason may well be that the adapters were not very knowledgeable in Spanish letters, and may have lacked access to, or failed to understand the significance of, the acrostic verses contained in the prefatory material of the Tragicomedia.

Be that as it may, it brings us only a little closer to understanding why the adapters believed that Alemán had written the Celestina as well as Guzmán. While it is true that at that time the authorship of the Celestina had not been conolusively established, Mateo Alemán would seem, to anyone familiar with Spanish literary chronology, a most unlikely contender. I can suggest only one reason why the adapters were led to believe that Alemán was irrefutably the author of the Celestina. There were, as far as I know, only two previous occasions when Guzmán and the Celestina were published together. No doubt encouraged by the popular reception of his Rogue, James Mabbe decided to prepare another work involving low-life characters for publication in 1631.
The Spanish Bawd seems to have met with a less enthusiastic reception, for copies of this translation were bound together with the second edition of the Rogue (Oxford, 1630) and later with the third edition (London, 1634), each time with its date unaltered. Where the two

works were bound together, a new title-page was added (see photocopy on facing page), and a comparison of this title-page with that of The Life of Guzman is most enlightening. The relevant part of both title-pages is reproduced below, Mabbe's version on the left and the 1707-8 Life of Guzman on the right:

THE ROGUE:
OR,
THE LIFE
OF GUZMAN
DE ALFARACHE.
WRITTEN IN SPANISH.
By MATHEO ALEMAN...

To which is added, the Tragi-Comedy of CALISTO and MELIBEA, represented in Celestina.

THE
LIFE
OF
Guzman d'Alfarache:
OR, THE
SPANISH ROGUE.

To which is added,
The Celebrated Tragi-Comedy
CELESTINA.

Written in Spanish
By MATEO ALEMAN.

In view of the fact that Mabbe omits the acrostic verses from the prefatory material of The Spanish Bawd, and elsewhere gives the reader no other indication that he knew the identity of the Spanish author, anyone reading this particular title-page might be forgiven for assuming that both works were by the same author. Indeed, if, as I have supposed, The Spanish Bawd did not sell very well, it may have been precisely the intention of Mabbe (or his publisher) to leave the title-page ambiguous. If, an unwitting customer might reason, Mateo Alemán was celebrated for the excellence and wit of his Rogue, why should not this be equally so for another of his works?

The adapters seem to have laboured under some similar delusion, and the ambiguous title-page may adequately explain their curious attribution of the Celestina to a most unlikely author. Only a

THE ROGVE:
OR,
THE LIFE
OF GVZMAN
DE *ALFARACHE.*

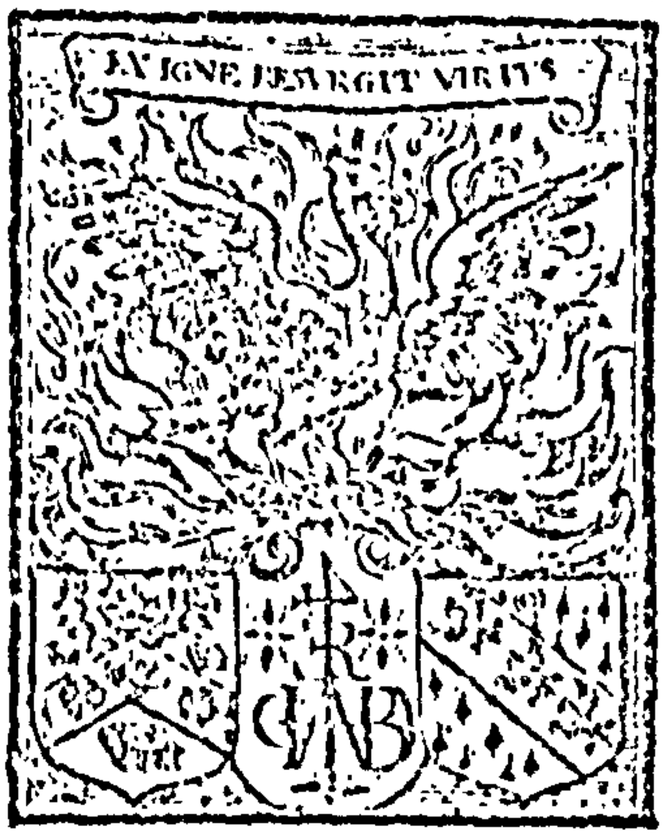
VVRITTEN IN SPANISH

By MATHEO ALEMAN,

Servant to his Catholike Majestie,
and borne in SEVILL.

To which is added, the Tragi-Comedy of CALISTO and MELIBEA, represented in *Celestina.*

The third Edition corrected.



LONDON,
Printed by R. B. *for* Robert Allot, *and are to be sold at his Shop in* Pauls *Church-yard, at the Signe of the blacke Beare.* An. Dom. 1634.

detailed examination of the text of A Tragi-Comedy, however, can provide conclusive evidence about which version of the Celestina was the basis for the work of adaptation.

A certain amount of supplementary evidence can be obtained first by subjecting The Life of Guzman to a similar scrutiny. The title-pages of both volumes say (of one or both works): 'Done into English from the New French Version, and compar'd with the original'. The first part of this assertion is confirmed if we examine the text of The Life of Guzman. A quotation in 'The English Translators Preface' (I, sig. $A5^{b}$-6^{a}), said to be translated from the preface of the French version in question, is indeed taken from the translation of Gabriel Brémond. Since this is further corroborated by convincing internal evidence, such as a similar organisation of chapters and the omission from both versions of certain passages from the original, I am inclined to accept, with certain reservations, the explanation of the adapters that:

> As to this Translation of him [Guzman], 'tis not from the Spanish only, as our old dry English Guzman was, but faithfully done from a New Version in French. (sig. $A5^{b}$)[2]

But if, as this statement and other internal evidence suggest, the adapters did use the French Guzman as the basis for their version, it is not easy to ascertain the points at which the Spanish original was consulted. It is not at all certain, either, that their avowal of having used the Spanish Guzmán is anything more than an attempt on the part of the English adapters to give to their version more authenticity as an accurate translation. For where they have not told the whole truth is in failing to mention their unquestionable debt to the 'old dry English Guzman' - if it is to Mabbe's Rogue

that they are referring here. Even apart from the similarity of the two title-pages, the influence of Mabbe's translation can be detected at various points in the work, particularly in the verbal similarities between the explanatory footnotes.[3] It should be emphasized, though, that The Rogue was of less importance to the reworking of The Life of Guzman than the Histoire de l'admirable Don Guzman d'Alfarache. In this case, Mabbe's influence must be considered secondary.

SOME POSSIBLE SOURCES

Does the statement 'Done into English from the New French Version' also apply to A Tragi-Comedy? There was, to my knowledge, no French translation of the Celestina contemporaneous with Brémond's Guzman. The last edition of a French version prior to A Tragi-Comedy was the French and Spanish text issued in Rouen, 1644 (see above, page 20). This can hardly be considered 'new' in the sense the adapters use the word, for this French translation was first issued in 1633, only eleven years after the first edition of the 'old dry English Guzman' - Mabbe's Rogue. Another reason why it is unlikely that the statement on the title-page also refers to the dramatic adaptation is that the second title-page immediately before A Tragi-Comedy says that the work is 'Taken from the Spanish Play of Mateo Aleman' (2C2[a]). The validity of this statement I shall deal with later at greater length, but it does not seem likely that the remarks about sources in the title-page and the prefatory material of The Life of Guzman refer to A Tragi-Comedy.

There is no internal evidence in the dramatic adaptation to suggest that the adapters used a French translation, or any other translation, apart from that of Mabbe. By virtue of the fact that Mabbe consulted it in making his translation, we shall see the indirect influence of Ordóñez's Italian translation on the adaptation later in this chapter, but this influence comes entirely through Mabbe. Neither is there any indication that the adapters were familiar with the English Interlude of the early sixteenth century,

or with any of the Spanish imitations of the Celestina.

The early draft of Mabbe's translation contained in the Alnwick manuscript is more difficult to discount, since large parts of it are identical to the 1631 version.[4] There seems no good reason, however, why the adapters should have used a version that was both incomplete and largely inaccessible. I think it can be shown, furthermore, that in the unlikely contingency that it was actually consulted, it was not the primary source for the adaptation. It offers no satisfactory explanation as to why the adapters should have thought that Mateo Alemán wrote the Celestina, and the manuscript omits certain passages from the text of the Spanish Tragicomedia which Mabbe includes in his published version and which are also used by the dramatic adaptation. The manuscript deletes, for example, much of Centurio's boasting in Act XVII, in which he describes the different manners of death that he is able to administer (Martínez Lacalle, 252). Both the 1631 version and the dramatic adaptation reproduce this passage (Warner Allen, 238; ATC, 90). These two versions also include the detailed description that Sempronio and Pármeno make of the way they have adjusted their attire in readiness to escape at the least sign of danger. This scene occurs in Act XII as they wait outside Melibea's house for their master (Warner Allen, 182; ATC, 76), but these details are omitted in the Alnwick manuscript (Martínez Lacalle, 226).[5] It cannot be established beyond all doubt, of course, that Mabbe's earlier draft was not consulted at all, but its inaccessibility makes it highly unlikely.

THE PRIMARY SOURCE

Apart from discovering which versions of Guzman were used for the 1707-8 adaptation, a close examination of the sources of The Life of Guzman has also taught us that we cannot rely on the adapters to tell us which versions they did or did not use. We ought, then, to be wary of accepting the declaration on the title-page of A Tragi-Comedy that it was 'Taken from the Spanish Play' ($2C2^a$), especially since the title of the play bears a number of similarities to that of Mabbe's 1631 edition. The relevant part of Mabbe's title-page is set out below, with that of A Tragi-Comedy to the right of it:

THE
SPANISH BAWD
Represented
in Celestina
Or,
The Tragicke-Comedy of
Calisto and Melibea...

CELESTINA:
OR, THE
Spanish Bawd.
A Tragi-Comedy...

Like Mabbe's translation, too, the text of the play is preceded by a list of characters taking part although, unlike Mabbe, the adapters divide their 'Dramatis Personae' into male and female characters, as was the usual practice of dramatists even before the period of the Restoration.

Irrespective of which version of the Celestina they are using, it is evident that during the second half of the dramatic adaptation the adapters reduce their dependence on their source and rely more on their own inspiration. This tendency is here reflected in the fact that when

we collate the text of A Tragi-Comedy and those of the Spanish Tragicomedia and Mabbe's translation, most of the examples where two or all three of the texts agree come from the first half of the adaptation.

But before we turn to specific examples, a word of caution may be in order. We should be wary of accepting verbal similarities between the two English versions too easily. The fact that these versions often give identical renderings is not in itself conclusive evidence that the dramatic adaptation is copying from Mabbe's Spanish Bawd. This may seem over-cautious, but we know from our own experience that it is often possible for there to be general agreement that one translation of a particular phrase is better than another in that it fits in more exactly with the tone and context of the whole piece. Not all translations are essentially dissimilar. That two translators, then, should render a particular phrase into English with exactly the same words is not impossible, or even unlikely. In this case, despite the fact that the adapters are remodelling their source, we find in practice that they often follow the details of a particular dialogue very closely. It is not even true to argue that the fact that Mabbe and the adapters wrote their respective versions for two different ages necessarily means that the words and phrases they each employ would be different. Many words and phrases, of course, are the property of any given age, and their popularity changes with the passage of time. Much of the wording of A Tragi-Comedy reflects this tendency. But there is a far larger body of language, good, idiomatic English, that enjoys a much more lasting currency despite literary, political and even

cultural upheavals. This predominant element in the English language is not likely to have changed greatly in the period of less than a century that separates the two versions. Indeed, the fact that we can understand both works today without inordinate difficulty is further evidence that, even over a still longer period of time, a language such as English does not change as much as one might expect.

The first three examples, representative of by far the largest group of similarities, are illustrative of this need for caution. In each case, there is a strong suspicion that the adapters are borrowing from Mabbe, yet the words or phrases in question could equally well have been the adapters' translation of the Spanish equivalent, and this makes it impossible for us to be dogmatic about which version the adapters are using. Quotations from Mabbe's translation are in capitals throughout the rest of this chapter, and the italics are mine.

The first example comes from the first act of the Tragicomedia. Sempronio is telling his master Calisto that he may not always love Melibea:

> ...y aún [posible] que la aborrezcas, cuanto agora la amas; podrá ser, alcanzándola y viéndola con otros ojos, libres del engaño en que agora estás. (Severin, 55)

> ...AND AS POSSIBLE THAT YOU MAY ONE DAY HATE HER AS MUCH AS NOW YOU LOVE HER, WHEN YOU SHALL COME TO THE FULL ENJOYING OF HER, AND TO LOOKING ON HER WITH OTHER EYES, FREE FROM THAT ERROR WHICH NOW BLINDETH YOUR JUDGMENT. (Warner Allen, 20)

> ...you may even hate her one Day as much as you love her now. Enjoyment has a strange Effect on weak Mortals, and when you come to look on her with clear Eyes, free from that Error which now blinds your Judgment. (A Tragi-Comedy, 4)

The most striking similarity between the two English versions occurs in their translation of the final Spanish phrase. Yet other elements in the adapters' version betray a noticeable independence of translation: the word order of their first phrase, for instance. In the second example, taken from Act VII, Celestina is trying to persuade Pármeno to make friends with Sempronio:

> ¡Oh cuán dichosa me hallaría en que tú y Sempronio estuviésedes muy conformes, muy amigos, hermanos en todo, viéndoos venir a mi pobre casa a holgar, a verme y aun a desenojaros con sendas mochachas! (121)

> OH! HOW HAPPY SHOULD I BE, MIGHT I BUT SEE THEE AND SEMPRONIO AGREE, SEE YOU TWO FRIENDS AND SWORN BROTHERS IN EVERYTHING, THAT YE MAY COME TO MY POOR HOUSE TO BE MERRY, AND TO SEE ME NOW AND THEN, AND TO TAKE YOUR PLEASURE EACH OF YOU WITH HIS WENCH! (111)

> Oh, how happy shou'd I be if I cou'd see thee and Sempronio agree like two Friends, and sworn Brothers, in every thing, that you might come to my Cottage and be merry, and visit me sometimes, crack a Jest and a Cogue, and take your Pleasure each of you with his Wench. (43)

As with the previous example, the similarities between the two English versions are manifest, yet both versions are close enough to the Spanish for each to have used it as its source. The last of these examples, from the same act (see also p. 68 below), concerns Areúsa's feigned coyness at the approach of Pármeno:

> No será él tan descortés, que entre en lo vedado sin licencia. (131)

> HE WILL NOT BE SO UNCIVIL AS TO ENTER INTO ANOTHER BODY'S GROUND WITHOUT LEAVE, ESPECIALLY WHEN IT LIES IN SEVERAL. (124)

> He won't be so uncivil sure, as to enter another Body's ground without leave. (47)

Here again, both Mabbe and the adapters follow the sense of the Spanish very closely, yet the similarity of their versions suggests that the adapters were using The Spanish Bawd as a source. On the other hand, they are not identical translations, the phrasing is slightly different, and the adapters choose not to translate Mabbe's last phrase, which is not found in the Tragicomedia. Such examples as those in this first group, many as they are, cannot furnish us with conclusive evidence that the adapters are using Mabbe's translation as their source. They may, however, offer corroborative proof if we can show by more convincing means that Mabbe's version does provide the basis for A Tragi-Comedy.

The second group of examples takes us much further. At many points in his translation, James Mabbe adds to, or expands the words of the Tragicomedia, and in each of the following examples the adapter follows his lead, also going beyond the words of the Spanish text.

In this passage from Act I of the Tragicomedia, Sempronio and Celestina are discussing how they can both benefit from Calisto's obsession:

> Sempronio.-Pues juntos nos ha menester, juntos nos aprovechemos; que conocer el tiempo y usar el hombre de la oportunidad hace los hombres prósperos.
> Celestina.-Bien has dicho, al cabo estoy; basta para mí mecer el ojo. (58)

> -...BECAUSE HE NEEDS OUR JOINT FURTHERANCE, LET US JOIN TOGETHER TO MAKE SOME PURCHASE OF HIM. FOR TO KNOW A MAN'S TIME, TO MAKE USE OF OPPORTUNITY,... WHY IT IS THE ONLY ROUND BY WHICH MANY HAVE CLIMBED UP TO PROSPERITY.
> -WELL HAST THOU SAID; I PERCEIVE THY DRIFT. THE WINKING OR BECKONING OF THE EYE IS ENOUGH FOR ME; FOR, AS OLD AS I AM, I CAN SEE DAY AT A LITTLE HOLE. (24)

> -We must do what we can for him, and take him while he is in this Humour. Opportunity is the Round by which the Wisest of our Politicians climb to Preferment.
> -A Hint to me is sufficient; and Old as I am, I can see Day at a little Hole. (11)

In this example Mabbe and the adapters concur in adding three new elements not found in the Spanish version: they introduce the word 'round'; they change the Spanish verb 'hace' to one of upward movement; and finally they elaborate on the phrase 'basta para mí mecer el ojo', using an identical phrase. It is also worth noticing that the adapters introduce a reference to political affairs, something which is a frequent occurrence in A Tragi-Comedy. The next example, also from Act I, is Celestina's derogatory description of Pármeno, replete with jocular diminutives:

> -¿Qué dirás a esto, Pármeno? ¡Neciuelo; loquito, angelico, perlica, simplecico! ¿Lobitos en tal gestico? Llégate acá, putico, que no sabes nada del mundo ni de sus deleites. (65-6)

> - HOW CAN YOU ANSWER THIS, PARMENO? NOW MY PRETTY LITTLE FOOL, YOU MAD WAG, MY SOUL'S SWEET GENIUS, MY PEARL, MY JEWEL, MY HONEST POOR SILLY LAD, MY PRETTY LITTLE MONKEY-FACE, COME HITHER, YOU LITTLE WHORESON; ALACK, HOW I PITY THY SIMPLICITY! THOU KNOWEST NOTHING OF THE WORLD NOR OF ITS DELIGHTS. (34)

> - How's that, my pretty little Fool? You mad Wag, my Soul's Sweet Genius, my Pearl, my pretty Face, my little Monkey. Come hither, you dear dear Son of a —— come, I say, give me a Buss. —— How I pity him, he knows not much of the World. (15)

Here Mabbe has moved away from the literal meaning of the diminutives to give them their full force in his own version. Though they omit a couple of Mabbe's diminutives, the adapters follow him very closely. The last of this group of examples is taken from Celestina's entry into Melibea's house for the first time, at the beginning of Act IV:

Celestina.-Paz sea en esta casa.
Lucrecia. -Celestina, madre, seas bienvenida. ¿Cuál Dios te trajo por estos barrios no acostumbrados? (88)

-BY YOUR LEAVE, SWEET BEAUTY.
-MOTHER CELESTINA, YOU BE WELCOME. WHAT WIND, I TROW, DRIVES YOU THIS WAY? I DO NOT REMEMBER THAT I HAVE SEEN YOU IN THESE PARTS THIS MANY A DAY. (65)

-By your Leave, Mrs Luky.
-You're welcome, Mother: What Wind drives you this way? I have not seen you here this many a day. (26)

Here again, though Mabbe remains faithful to the spirit of the Spanish text, his version is not what one might expect from a translation, yet the adapters follow him closely. As we leave this group of examples, it must be stressed that the only deduction we can safely draw from this evidence is that the adapters unquestionably used Mabbe's translation to some extent. We must search further afield to find out whether one version, Mabbe's Spanish Bawd or the Spanish Tragicomedia, provided the basic tool with which the adaptation was made.

Where we may find sufficient proof is in the numerous instances in which Mabbe's translation differs in substance from the Tragicomedia. These discrepancies arise for a number of reasons: they occur when Mabbe mistranslates unconsciously or when he is not sure of the meaning of a word or phrase in the Spanish text; they occur when he eliminates Christian or anti-clerical references from his translation;[6] and they occur, finally, when he borrows a word or phrase from another version of the Celestina. All the following examples from A Tragi-Comedy belong to one of these three categories, but because the adapters are primarily concerned to reduce their source

material very drastically, the number of occasions when a borrowing coincides with a discrepancy in Mabbe's translation is not great: probably not more than a dozen in the whole adaptation.

The first example is exceptional in that it is the only one couched in blank verse that indicates unequivocally which source the adapters used. Because of the singular demands that composing verse in iambic pentameters made on the adapters' powers of expression, the phraseology of the versified passages is normally most unlike the words of either the original or the translation by Mabbe. In the opening scene of the adaptation, Melibea has just asked Calisto whether he considers the sight of her to be such a great blessing. Calisto replies:

> Nothing but to possess you can be more;
> And I, like Tantalus, behold the Fruit
> Fresh, fair, and tempting to the Touch, but when
> I reach my Hand, it strait dissolves like Shade,
> And leaves me in Despair. (1)

Now the allusion to Tantalus and the evanescent fruit cannot be inspired by the Tragicomedia. The Spanish text at this point uses imagery from the Hellenic-Christian tradition - contrasting the properties of spirit and flesh:

> Mas ¡oh triste! que en esto diferimos: que ellos [los santos] puramente se glorifican sin temor de caer de tal bienaventuranza, y yo, mixto, me alegro con recelo del esquivo tormento, que tu ausencia me ha de causar. (46)

The allusion is in fact taken from a more casual reference to Tantalus in The Spanish Bawd:

YET WRETCH THAT I AM, I MUST LIVE LIKE ANOTHER TANTALUS;
SEE WHAT I MAY NOT ENJOY, NOT TOUCH; AND MY COMFORT MUST
BE THE THINKING OF THY DISDAINFULNESS, THY PLEASING COYNESS,
AND THE TORMENT WHICH THY ABSENCE WILL INFLICT UPON ME. (10)[7]

The next example seems to be a simple case of mistranslation on the part of Mabbe, unless one sees him as wishing to exaggerate the already phenomenal influence of Celestina:

> Sempronio.-...entiendo que pasan de cinco mil virgos los que se han hecho y deshecho por su autoridad en esta ciudad. (56)
>
> -ONE WHO IN MY CONSCIENCE HATH MARRED AND MADE UP AGAIN A HUNDRED THOUSAND MAIDENHEADS IN THIS CITY. (20)
>
> -She has not been idle in her Days, but has marr'd and made up again a Hundred thousand Maidenheads in this City. (5)

Apart from the fact that both versions increase the original number, both also reverse the order of the two verbs 'hecho y deshecho'. One occasion on which Mabbe excludes a religious reference from his version is in translating Celestina's request for a cure for Calisto's fictitious toothache in Act IV, when Melibea's rage has been stilled:

> Una oración, señora, que le dijeron que sabías de Santa Apolonia para el dolor de las muelas. Asimismo tu cordón, que es fama que ha tocado las reliquias que hay en Roma y Jerusalén. (97)
>
> MARRY, A CERTAIN CHARM, MADAME, WHICH, AS HE IS INFORMED BY MANY OF HIS GOOD FRIENDS, YOUR LADYSHIP HATH, WHICH CURETH THE TOOTHACHE; AS ALSO THAT SAME ADMIRABLE GIRDLE OF YOURS, WHICH IS REPORTED TO HAVE BEEN FOUND AND BROUGHT FROM CUMAE THE CAVE THERE, AND WAS WORN, 'TIS THOUGHT, BY THE SIBYLLA OR PROPHETESS OF THAT PLACE. (78)
>
> All I wanted, was, a certain Charm which he tells me your Ladiship has for the Toothach [sic]; and that wonderful Girdle of yours, brought from Cuma, and said to be worn by the Old Sybil who prophesy'd in the Cave there. (33)

Though the adapters, as they frequently do, compress Mabbe's rendering considerably, both versions translate 'oración' as 'charm', omitting the reference to 'Santa Apolonia' and substituting for the Christian associations of the girdle references to Classical mythology. The last example of direct borrowing by the adapters from Mabbe concerns one of the few proven instances where Mabbe adds a phrase from the Italian translation to his version.[8] To the list of Celestina's remedies for Areúsa's illness in Act VII, Ordóñez adds 'fumo de sole de scarpe Vecchie', and Mabbe incorporates this addition in his version. Thus, the relevant part of the three lists reads as follows:

> Todo olor fuerte es bueno, así como poleo, ruda, ajiensos, humo de plumas de perdiz, de romero, de moxquete, de incienso. (128)
>
> EVERY STRONG SCENT IS GOOD, AS PENNYROYAL, RUE, WORMWOOD, SMOKE OF PARTRIDGE FEATHERS, OF ROSEMARY, AND OF THE SOLES OF OLD SHOES, AND OF MUSK-ROSES, OF INCENSE. (119)
>
> I can tell twenty Med'cines that's good for thy Distemper; as, Penny-Royal, Rosemary, Rue, Wormwood; the Smoak of Partridge-Feathers, of the Soles of Shoes, of Musk-Roses, of Incense. (45)

Apart from the addition I have mentioned from the Italian version, it is interesting to see that the adapters attempt to tidy up the list, taking 'rosemary' from between the two references that are not botanical and inserting it according to alphabetical order in the first part of the list.

Even apart from the direct borrowings from The Spanish Bawd, we can see the influence of James Mabbe in the transformation of the Celestina into a work for the stage. To the reader already familiar with the 21-act Celestina, two alterations are especially puzzling:

the first meeting between Calisto and Melibea takes place in 'A Mirtle-Grove near Calisto's House' (ATC, 1); and Areúsa is living at the bawd's house both when Celestina brings Pármeno to visit her, and also when the bawd is killed. At first sight, these alterations may seem to be entirely the work of the adapters themselves, reducing the number of different settings because they wished to retain some semblance of the unities of time and place that, according to the preface (2C3[a]), they find so lamentably absent from the original. But it is also very possible that they were prompted to make these alterations by suggestions of Mabbe at two points where his translation deviates from the Tragicomedia.

Nowhere in the Tragicomedia is there any reference to myrtles: the garden into which Calisto is said to have followed his hawk is merely 'una huerta' (45); his trysting-place with Melibea is more elaborately described as 'aquel alegre vergel' (196); and Melibea subsequently refers to 'los altos cipreses' in the same meeting-place (222); nowhere, however, is mention made of a grove of myrtles. The allusion, in fact, again comes from The Spanish Bawd, for on several occasions Malle translates the church called 'la Magdalena' as 'the myrtle-grove'.[9] To cite just one example from Act VIII:

> Calisto.-Dacá mis ropas; iré a la Magdalena. (140)
>
> -GIVE ME MY CLOTHES: I MUST GO TO MY WONTED RETIREMENT TO THE MYRTLE-GROVE. (135)

Now it is true that Mabbe makes no reference to the myrtle-grove in the preamble to Act I of his translation. But his curious rendering of the Spanish 'Entrando Calisto en una huerta en pos de un halcón suyo' (45), namely, 'CALISTO ENTERING INTO A GARDEN

AFTER HIS USUAL MANNER' (9),[10] finds a strong echo in Calisto's phrase from Act VIII that I have just quoted: 'I MUST GO TO MY WONTED RETIREMENT TO THE MYRTLE-GROVE'. We can readily imagine the adapters thinking the two places might be one and the same, particularly since this reduces the number of different stage-settings and, by virtue of his predisposition towards nostalgia, Calisto might very well have returned to the place where he had first talked to Melibea.

The other alteration, the moving of Areúsa to Celestina's house, may also have been inspired by a phrase that Mabbe adds to the original, albeit that it rests on much less convincing evidence. In the last of the first group of examples, Areúsa feigns coyness as Celestina bids Pármeno come up to her chamber. When the bawd encourages him to approach nearer, Areúsa exclaims: 'No será él tan descortés, que entre en lo vedado sin licencia' (131). In his version, Mabbe adds six words:

> HE WILL NOT BE SO UNCIVIL AS TO ENTER INTO ANOTHER BODY'S GROUND WITHOUT LEAVE, <u>ESPECIALLY WHEN IT LIES IN SEVERAL</u>. (124)

I take it there are two possible meanings of this additional phrase: Mabbe could be referring to the fact that she has more than one lover, or he could be suggesting that there is more than one occupier to the house she lives in. The first meaning seems the more obvious, but it is a little out of place here. Since Areúsa has clearly been acting like a bashful virgin for the benefit of Pármeno (a pose that Mabbe does his best to reinforce - he translates

Areúsa's phrase 'Por mi vida, madre, que tal no se haga' (130) as 'FOR MY MAIDENHEAD'S SAKE, MOTHER, LET IT NOT BE SO' (123)), it is hardly likely that Areúsa would give the game away at this stage by letting slip a reference to several other lovers. I personally prefer to see this phrase of Mabbe's as referring to the other occupants of the house. The adapters, as it happens, decline to use this additional phrase, but it is at least conceivable that it was thinking about this phrase that gave them the idea of moving Areúsa to Celestina's house. This change performs a number of functions useful to the purposes of the adapters as we shall see later (see below, page 78).

Taken as a whole, the foregoing examples, representative of many more in the dramatic adaptation, seem to me conclusive proof that the translation by Mabbe was used as the basis for A Tragi-Comedy. On innumerable occasions the adapters use words either copied from The Spanish Bawd or very reminiscent of Mabbe's words. On a number of these occasions both versions go beyond the words and the sense of the Tragicomedia, to the extent that it is clear that the adapters are not comparing Mabbe's version with the original Spanish or, if they are, they show no noticeable inclination to adapt the Celestina from its original Spanish form. But once this has been said, it cannot be proved that the Spanish Tragicomedia was never consulted. I have discovered three occasions within a page of one another when the adaptation is closer to the Spanish version than it is to Mabbe's translation. Two of these may be dismissed as pure coincidence, but the third seems unlikely to be so. Again, I have no convincing

explanation for their being so close together, but I have found no other likely examples in the rest of my comparison.

They all occur in the first act. Here, Calisto calls to Parmeno to open the door to Celestina:

-A la puerta llaman; corre. (59)

-SOMEBODY KNOCKS AT THE GATE. RUN (25)

-Sirrah, why don't you run to the Door? Don't you hear they knock as if they wou'd beat it down? (12)

'Puerta', of course, can mean either 'gate' or 'door', and it is possible that, if the adapters were translating from the Spanish at this point, they might have preferred the latter translation. Against this similarity, however, it could be argued that they might still be using Mabbe's version alone. Since in the adaptation, the locale of this scene is clearly given as 'A Room in the House' (2), to have Celestina and Sempronio knocking on a gate beyond the door of the room might seem unnecessarily complicated for a theatrical setting, and the adapters might have sensibly changed the text to have them knocking on the door.

The second example comes from a little later in the same scene. Parmeno is explaining to his master how he came to know the old woman:

...mi madre, mujer pobre, moraba en su vecindad, la cual rogada por esta Celestina, me dio a ella por sirviente. (60)

MY MOTHER DWELT IN HER PARISH, WHO, BEING ENTREATED BY THIS CELESTINA, GAVE ME UNTO HER TO WAIT UPON HER. (26)

...my Mother, who liv'd in her Neighbourhood, wou'd have me serve her as her Lacquey. (13)

Again, the similarity hangs on two isolated words, but the fact remains that 'Neighbourhood' is closer to 'vecindad' than to 'parish', and 'sirviente' and 'Lacquey' are nouns, while Mabbe uses a verbal phrase. The last example, and the most intriguing, comes between these two examples. Pármeno describes who is outside the door to his master:

> Señor, Sempronio y una puta vieja <u>alcoholada</u> daban aquellas porradas. (59)
>
> IT IS SEMPRONIO AND AN OLD BAWD HE HATH BROUGHT ALONG WITH HIM. O HOW SHE IS BEDAUB'D WITH PAINTING! (25)
>
> An't please you my Lord, 'tis Sempronio with an Old Weather-beaten Bawd, that <u>stinks of Brandy</u> and Sweet Powder enough to strike you down. (12)

The word 'alcoholada', of course, refers to Celestina's dyed hair, and this seems to be the drift of Mabbe's translation. Nowhere does he mention alcohol, however, and it may well be that the adapters consulted the Spanish for a second opinion. If, as I have suggested, they were not well versed in Spanish, the reference to Celestina stinking of brandy is quite understandable.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. The Spanish Libertines. sig. $A3^b$.

2. The 'New French Version' in question is probably the Brussels edition of 1705. Histoire de l'admirable Don Guzman d'Alfarache. A Bruxelles chez George de Backer. 1705. There is a copy of this three-volume work in the Bodleian Library (Douce S. 65-7). Another edition was published in Lyons in the same year, and Brémond's translation first appeared in 1695 in Paris and Amsterdam.

3. For example, Mabbe's note to 'cambio seco' (Book I, page 5) is reproduced almost verbatim by The Life of Guzman (i,7). Later on, the note on Illescas - 'A poor town near Toledo' in the first volume of The Life of Guzman (275) seems to be taken from a similar note in Book II of Mabbe's Rogue (129).

4. Celestine or the Tragick-Comedie of Calisto and Melibea, ed. Guadalupe Martínez Lacalle (London: Tamesis, 1972). The most reliable edition of Mabbe's 1631 version, which I use throughout this study, is that of H. Warner Allen in Broadway Translations (London: Routledge, [1908], reprinted [1928]). As stated previously, I use Dorothy S. Severin's edition of the Tragicomedia (2a ed., Madrid: Alianza, 1971).

5. For further discussion of these omissions, see Martínez Lacalle, 52-9.

6. For one view of Mabbe's reasons for his expurgations, see Helen Phipps Houck, "Mabbe's Paganization of the Celestina," PMLA, liv (1939), 422-31, at p.422. For a corrective, see P.E. Russell, "English Seventeenth-Century Interpretations of Spanish Literature," Atlante, i (1953), 65-77, at p.73n; Martínez Lacalle, 30-1.

7. The reference to Tantalus is not found in the Alnwick MS (Martínez Lacalle, 120).

8. For a more detailed account of the differences between the Tragicomedia and Ordóñez's 1506 translation, see Emma Scoles, "Note sulla prima traduzione italiana della Celestina," Studj Romanzi, xxxiii (1961), 157-217; Warner Allen, lxxxiii-lxxxv.

9. See also Warner Allen, 137, 166 and 181. But note several inconsistencies in Mabbe's expurgation: the Argument to Act VIII (128); 144; and the Argument to Act XI (166).

10. This is not such an inadvertent slip as it appears: the Alnwick MS has 'Calisto, entringe a garden after his hawke' (Martínez Lacalle, 119).

CHAPTER V

THE REWORKING OF THE CELESTINA IN A TRAGI-COMEDY

The attempt in the previous chapter to establish the version of the Celestina on which A Tragi-Comedy is based, unfortunately entailed a rather abstract analysis of the adapters' use of sources. It was necessary to wrest a brief snatch of monologue or conversation from its context without any opportunity to elaborate on the way in which the material from the 21-act Celestina is reworked in a play of only five brief acts. One of the purposes of this chapter is to rectify this shortcoming; I shall also examine what the authors change in the process of adaptation, and the new elements from their own environment and experience which they introduce into the work to make it acceptable for eighteenth-century audiences. Some of this material will later be of use when I speculate on the problem of authorship.

It is difficult to say whether A Tragi-Comedy was ever performed. There is no reference in the newspapers of the period to the play's having been staged and it does not seem to have been commissioned by a theatre.[1] The work is, however, eminently suitable for stage performance, and it may well have been staged in some private performance. From the short preface that precedes the work, it is clear that it was the original intention of the adapters to rework the 21-act Celestina in a form that approximated much more closely to the original conception than a stage play five acts in length:

> We have adapted his Tragicomedy to the Stage, which we had no Thoughts of doing at first, not imagining Mateo Aleman's Spanish Bawd cou'd ever be fitted for a Representation; but now seeing the whole together, we have chang'd our Opinion. (2C3[a])

Why did the adapters decide to transform the Celestina into a five-act play? We can answer part of this question if we look again at the literary background to the period. I mentioned in Chapter II that Spanish plays were immensely popular during this period, but that many dramatists had reservations about their dramatic form. Some of these dramatists considered that the French plays of Racine and Corneille were superior in form to those of Lope and Calderón, because the former set out to base themselves on the dramatic principles of Horace. Although Dryden does not agree entirely with this view, he expounds it fully through the mouthpiece of Lisideius, one of the characters in his essay Of Dramatick Poesie. At one point in the debate, Lisideius takes both Spanish and English plays to task because they pay too much attention to action and not enough to character portrayal:

> Another thing in which the French differ from us and from the Spaniards, is, that they do not embarrass, or cumber themselves with too much plot; they only represent so much of a story as will constitute one whole and great action sufficient for a play ... by pursuing close one argument, which is not cloyed with many turns, the French have gained more liberty for verse, in which they write; they have leisure to dwell on a subject which deserves it; and to represent the passions (...), without being hurried from one thing to another.[2]

In fairness, it ought to be pointed out that the Spanish plays that Lisideius refers to here are those of Calderón and Lope, but the dramatic values expressed here are not so very different from those

applied to the Celestina in the preface to A Tragi-Comedy. The writer describes the Spanish work as:

> a Monster as to the Conduct, unworthy the Name of a Tragedy, Comedy, Tragicomedy, or any thing relating to the Theatre, it having no less than 21 Acts. ...In which Play the Action lasts as many Days as it does Hours in this [dramatic adaptation]. (2C3a)

As well as the excessive length of the work, the writer deplores the failure of the author of the Spanish work to retain at least some semblance of the unities of place and time. Since the writer is clearly also under the impression that the Celestina is another work from the pen of Mateo Alemán, he may be forgiven for thinking that the Celestina came from an age in which all works in dialogue were written with dramatic performance in mind.

A Tragi-Comedy was the only one of the two adaptations under consideration that Mrs. Malkiel consulted for her Originalidad artística, and she sees this adaptation as the first Neoclassical reaction against the great length of the Celestina. Referring to the title-page, she observes that 'El verso de Horacio impreso como lema revela cuál era la piedra de toque del drama para los adaptadores'[3]. This unbending Neoclassical rejection of the 21-act Celestina occupies much of the preface, and the writer has little to say in favour of the Spanish work. He does concede, however, that 'The Action ... seems to be regular, the Design being to show the Fatal Consequences of Unlawful Love ... there are some Moral Reflections, with some Humour scatter'd up and down'(2C3a).

Apart from these concessions he regards the work as 'tedious' and clearly thinks it needs to undergo a great number of modifications, as we shall see, before the Celestina can be considered suitable for presentation to a Restoration audience.

STRUCTURAL REWORKING

How do the adapters make the 21-act Celestina suitable for the theatres of the period? They introduce a number of changes to the story, eliminating the appearances of several of the less important characters, who are now merely mentioned in passing; they reduce the number of locations and the time-scale of the original to a five-act play that would be both aesthetically pleasing to the critical sensibilities of their readers, and technically feasible for an actual performance; these modifications, of course, also necessitated shortening and modifying the dialogue of the Celestina, but did not prevent their adding much contemporary material where that seemed appropriate, though it did mean that the extent to which they could give life and depth to the characters was fairly limited. I shall first examine in some detail the changes made in the structure of the Celestina and then look at the modifications to the dialogue and the characters.

A cursory examination of the adaptation reveals that the writers have made a host of alterations to their source, some more important than others. One change, small in itself, is of particular interest, since it causes a number of other modifications to the plot. This is the moving of the whore Areúsa to Celestina's house. In itself this changes the emphasis only slightly; it enables the adapters to avoid creating yet another stage setting, making the play more compact. Thus Celestina takes Pármeno home with her

to gain the favours of Areúsa, and we get more of an idea of a bawdy-house that a reader of the eighteenth century would be used to, with two girls under the bawd's control rather than just Elicia. This also seems more in accord with Pármeno's declaration that Celestina's house is 'always full of Wenches' (13).

In the Tragicomedia, the sudden announcement made by Pármeno as he leaves Areúsa in Act VIII that they are to dine at Celestina's house that same day comes to the reader as totally unexpected - such an arrangement was not discussed during his conversation with Celestina. It is far more plausible that Pármeno should come to supper with Areúsa if she were staying at Celestina's house.

The most important consequence of Areúsa's change of lodging, however, concerns the resolution of the play. In the 21-act Celestina, the vengeance that the whores swear on Calisto and Melibea, whom they consider ultimately responsible for the murder of Celestina and the execution of the two servants, takes a great deal of time to plan and execute. The adapters reduce the length of time taken up by the vendetta by bringing Centurio to Celestina's house to spend the night of her death with Areúsa. Because the whores can tell Centurio what they want him to do immediately, he is able to arrange with Traso and his friends to carry out the vendetta the following night, thereby saving a great deal of time. This also serves to avoid another improbable fact: by the time we reach Act XV of the Tragicomedia, a month has passed since the death of Celestina, yet Areúsa still confesses her ignorance when Elicia tells her of this tragic occurrence. By having Areúsa present at the death of

Celestina, the adapters avoid this unlikely situation and prepare the way for an exciting climax to the play, without allowing the dramatic tension to slacken.

I shall deal with the change that the character of Lucrecia undergoes in the adaptation in the section on characterisation, but it is worth noting here, as another important structural change, that the adapter replaces the last two acts of the Tragicomedia, which contain long speeches by Melibea and her father, by a shorter concluding speech in verse by Melibea's maid. This abrupt ending fits in well with the taut dramatic climax I have just described. If one or both of the longer speeches had been retained, the effect would probably have been to deaden the powerful dramatic effect of the tragedy that had just occurred.

There are other significant changes, most of which serve to shorten the play. In order to introduce these changes into the structure of the work, the adapters found it necessary to omit a number of other scenes and make minor alterations to suit the tighter plot structure, especially reducing the number of changes of scene and the different stage settings. Many of these changes will come up in other connections, but it will be useful to mention here one or two examples.

Fernando de Rojas makes no attempt to limit his use of different location since he does not have conventional stage performance in mind, with the result that many of his scenes pose almost insurmountable problems for the would-be dramatist. Characters move from one setting to another as they speak, the scene often changes more than once within the space of a few lines and the total

effect to the modern reader is to make parts of the work read like a film-script. An example of one such complicated scene is the situation in Act I where Sempronio returns with Celestina and knocks on Calisto's front door. For an adapter to dramatize what follows would be no mean feat. It would be necessary for parts of each of the two conversations going on concurrently on both sides of the door to be heard by the other pair, and parts to be completely out of earshot. At the same time, all the ensuing dialogue must be audible to the listeners. The adapters of A Tragi-Comedy were probably wise to omit this scene, though by doing so, they regrettably lose with it some very appealing situational humour. I mentioned in another context (see chapter IV, p. 67) that the adapters also reduce the number of different places that Calisto visits in the Tragicomedia, by having him first meet Melibea in a myrtle grove near his house and making him repair there subsequently to evoke nostalgic memories of her. The adapters further reduce the number of settings by omitting almost entirely two characters who have peripheral roles. Instead of appearing on stage, Crito is only mentioned by Elicia and hides in a cupboard off stage. In the section that deals with characterisation, I shall deal more fully with the fact that the adapters apparently consider Pleberio superfluous to the action, for his role is little more than a walk-on part at the end of the play to hear Lucrecia sum up the action of the play and draw it to a conclusion. Other than this, Pleberio only figures in the adaptation when Melibea mentions (97) that he has betrothed her to another man and that the wedding will take place the following day. This only adds to Melibea's determination to give herself to the man she loves. It also seems

that the adapters considered the final tragedy of the Celestina difficult to stage successfully - instead of jumping to her death, Melibea chooses a much more conventional end: she stabs herself with Calisto's sword. Since her death is preceded by a fairly elaborate leitmotiv which I shall describe later, this manner of death proves as thematically unifying as does her fall in the Tragicomedia.

TEXTUAL REWORKING

This section, closely connected to the previous one, deals with a variety of modifications to the text itself: the omission of certain sorts of speech characteristic of the 21-act Celestina; the different uses to which certain speeches are put and the breaking up of certain long, but essential, speeches into units more suitable for an acted play; and lastly, some ways in which the adapters rework some of the passages from Mabbe's translation that are less suitable for dramatic presentation.

By far the greatest reduction of the length of the Celestina is not through the rearrangement of scenes, but by editing out the longer speeches of the characters. Sempronio's long tirade against the foibles of women for the benefit of Calisto is omitted, as is Celestina's nostalgic description of her former mentor, Claudina. To avoid keeping Lucrecia impatiently waiting at the door of Celestina's house with news of Melibea's change of heart, Areúsa's long description of the hard life of serving-maids from Act IX of the Tragicomedia is modified, and put into the mouth of Elicia, who gives the description in a shortened form when Lucrecia is actually present (62). Where the adapters do not omit an entire speech, they sometimes summarize it so skilfully that it is not clear to the reader that an abridgment has taken place. This is true of Pármeno's description of Celestina in the first act, for instance, and of Celestina's nostalgic memories of the days of her former pre-eminence. Lucretia's final summation, of course, is the adapter's equivalent of the lengthy two acts of the Spanish work.

One of the more interesting techniques used, unquestionably that of an experienced playwright, it seems to me, occurs towards the end of Act IV. Lucretia arrives with urgent news from Celestina about Melibea's physical state. In the 21-act Celestina, the servants leave to continue their sport with the whores elsewhere before Lucrecia tells the bawd how her mistress is. In A Tragi-Comedy, the two have obviously been muttering together for some time while the two couples have continued their bantering, for Sempronio suddenly says:

> -Mrs Luky has Business with Mother Celestina,
> and we interrupt it.
> Parmeno.-We'll retire, Ladies, if you please: 'Tis rude
> to hearken to another's private Affairs. ...
> Sempronio.-Let them mind their Business, we'll mind ours.
> — Steal out; they don't observe us.
> Celestina.-'Tis very strange, what you tell me.
> Lucretia. -Why she has not had a Wink's Sleep ever since; ... (63)

On a technical level, this has the virtue of cutting out a lot of preliminary information that can be guessed by the reader, if not by using his imagination, then by the substance of Melibea's anguished soliloquy that immediately follows this scene. Since the reader has to work out for himself what the two women are muttering about, this may involve him far more in the subsequent action than if he were baldly told what had happened to Melibea, as Lucrecia tells Celestina in the Tragicomedia.

On two or three occasions speeches change their purpose. The idealised description of Melibea in the first act that Calisto elaborates from his own imagination (Tragicomedia, 54), is here put into the mouth of Sempronio (5). In the Tragicomedia, Rojas counterbalances this with a grotesque description given by Areusa in Act IX to demonstrate that

Melibea's charms are unjustly vaunted by men who have not seen her closely. The true worth of Melibea in fact lies somewhere between the two partial descriptions. By putting the first one into Sempronio's mouth, and perhaps also by omitting his misogynistic diatribe shortly afterwards, the adapters substitute one intended contrast for another; his sensuous descoription of Melibea in Act I better prepares the reader for his reference to 'the Fair Melibea' in Act IV of the adaptation (58), which is the cause of Elicia's outburst and her slander of Calisto's beloved. Giving the description of Melibea to Sempronio also has another function. As he no doubt intends, Sempronio's exaggeratedly sensual description of Calisto's beloved arouses the following response from his master:

> Calisto.-How the Rogue pleases and deceives me: There's Money for thee, Sempronio, to encourage thy Industry; make me happy in my Melibea, and I'll enrich thee beyond thy Wishes. (5)

It is worth noting that the adapters put a similar description in the mouth of Celestina in Act III, which is used by the old woman as a final persuasion to obtain money and the promise of a gown from Calisto (42).

When the adapters described the Celestina in the preface to the adaptation as 'tedious', one of the particular things they must have had in mind was the length of the speeches, above all those of the copiously sententious old bawd. When we bear in mind the notorious impatience of a segment of the Restoration audiences, then the efforts of the adapters to break up the longer speeches into a more dialogic form is quite comprehensible. Celestina's lengthy

persuasion of Parmeno in the first act, for instance, is punctuated with a number of humorous interjections by him which are no doubt some small attempt to curry favour with a possible audience (17). Very few of these interjections are taken from the adapters' source. The same is true of Celestina's attempt to convince Melibea of the virtue of compassion for the sick, namely Calisto. One example of this occurs on page 31. There is no break in the original after the image of the virgin and the unicorn, but the adapters introduce an interjection through which Melibea expresses her own impatience (and possibly that of the audience) with the long-windedness of Celestina.

> Melibea.-No: I cannot bear her any longer. Either give me the Thread, or be gone.

Before she continues by repeating the image of the unicorn and the virgin, Celestina addresses herself to Melibea's impatience and excuses herself:

> Celestina.-Old folks have more Failings than Young, and are apt to talk most, when People are least dispos'd to hear them. But my Good Lady will have a little Patience with my Infirmities, and I shall soon have done. (31)

It is evident that Celestina is addressing herself to a far wider audience than just Melibea, and one might imagine that, said with the right sense of timing and tone of voice, such a veiled criticism could well meet with the approval of a restless audience.[4]

Concluding her remarks on Mabbe's earlier draft of his Celestina translation, Martínez Lacalle says that 'Mabbe's artistic expression shows many characteristics of Elizabethan prose style and thus is rich in amplifications, antitheses, etc' (92). What is acceptable to an Elizabethan audience as a lengthy work designed primarily for

reading is not necessarily also an acceptable medium for an audience of Restoration times or for dramatic declamation. In general the adapters simplify the ornate language of Mabbe's version, often adding modern allusions of their own. A few of the more distinctive examples will show that the adapters' style, despite their debt to Mabbe, is in no way inferior to the rich prose of The Spanish Bawd, and in many cases is an improvement, at least when it is judged by the criterion of suitability to the stage.

Since it is far more easy to get lost in the convolutions of oral rhetoric than when scanning a printed page, the adapters tend to epitomize the more elaborate arguments of Mabbe. It must be conceded, however, that this last is also a primary characteristic of the Spanish work of Rojas, so the embellishments found in The Spanish Bawd cannot be wholly attributed to Mabbe. The adapters always try to keep their audience firmly in mind and use short, terse phrases and frequent semicolons. This example comes from Calisto's conversation with Parmeno in Act I:

Parmeno, hold thy hand; thou hast said enough; what remaineth, leave it till some fitter opportunity. I am sufficiently instructed by thee, and I thank thee for it; let us now delay them no longer, for necessity cuts off slackness. Know thou that she comes hither requested, and we make her stay longer than stands with good manners. Come, let us go, lest she be offended and take it ill...	Thou hast describ'd her sufficiently to me, run however and open the Door, she comes hither by Request:
But I pray thee, Parmeno, let me entreat thee that the envy thou bearest unto Sempronio who is to serve and pleasure me in this business, be not an impediment to that remedy, whereon no	And pray do you take care not to let your Envy to Sempronio prejudice my Affairs, by Quarrels between you two; he serves me in my pleasure, thou

less than the safety of my life relieth. And, if I had a doublet for him, thou shalt not want a mandillion... (Mabbe, 29-30)

in my Business; he has his Talent, thou thine; and if he has one Coat, thou hast another. (Tragi-Comedy, 14)

It is not only the length of the two versions that needs to be contrasted; the adapters' antitheses are clear and concise, and they convey the essential meaning of the original without its circumlocution, expressing it attractively without giving the impression that they are cutting corners in doing so.

It would be wrong to give the impression that the adapters' version is always a reduction of Mabbe; I shall be examining later the wide variety of additional elements with which the adapters enrich and bring their play into the idiom of their age. In many places, they try to heighten the dramatic tension by enlarging on Mabbe when the occasion seems appropriate. An example from Celestina's death-scene illustrates the way they add an expressive contemporary allusion at a point in Mabbe's translation where he is closely following the Spanish. Celestina is trying to make light of the servants demands for money:

...Because you think I will tie you to rack and manger, and make you captives all your lifetime to Elicia and Areusa, and provide you no other fresh ware, you make all this ado, quarrel thus with me for money, and seek by fearing me to force me to a parting and sharing of stakes. But be still, my boys, and content yourselves... (191).

You think, it may be, I will tye you to Rack and Manger, and make you take up always with Elicia and Areusa. — Come, come, you shall have fresh Goods; you shall each have his Leash; I will grudge you nothing in my way: But Money, you Rogues you, you Fools, you Sots; wou'd you have Money from a Bawd? Is there any refunding from a Money-Scrivener, a Lawyer, a Banker, a Proctor, a Priest, or a Pimp? Do these go Stakes? Wou'd you cry Halves with me, like a Couple of Sweetners? — Go to — I'm ashamed to see you have so little Wit (84).

This lucid, humorous and splendidly sustained speech is representative of the adapters' conception of Celestina, and makes up in no small way for the impoverishment that a reduction in the scale of the work necessarily imposes on the portrayal of the character of the bawd. It also contributes to the argument that despite their obvious debt to Mabbe, the adapters cannot be accused of sheer plagiarism. We shall see in the next section the many ways in which the adapters add to, and transform the work to make it more fitting to the age in which they lived.

ADDITIONAL ELEMENTS

By far the most striking difference between the adaptation and its source is the unusual mixture of blank verse and prose which characterizes A Tragi-Comedy. The play begins and ends in iambic pentameters, which is the metre used throughout, but the use of verse does not appear at first sight to follow any coherent pattern. It is not true, for instance, that scenes couched in verse are rigidly separated from scenes written in prose. In the first act of the adaptation, Calisto uses verse when addressing Melibea, who also speaks in verse, yet gradually he returns to prose when he describes the object of his passion to Sempronio in the next scene. Nor is it accurate to say that verse and prose are never juxtaposed in scenes, or that it is only the 'noble' characters who are fitted to use verse. Celestina uses it in her conjuration of the infernal powers in Act II (25-6); The whores Areusa and Elicia use it when they discover the dead body of Celestina and plot their revenge (87-88); Lucretia uses it in the final scene of the play. The only universally valid rule of thumb that the adapters seem to follow is to use verse at moments of exhalted, intense emotion. This is true of the examples just quoted, and since the two lovers Calisto and Melibea sustain a high pitch of emotion for most of the action, their words are couched predominantly in verse. It does corroborate this contention, however, that the first interview between Celestina and Melibea, at which time the girl is still unaffected by the passion of Calisto, is conducted entirely in prose. This is also the case

with Calisto. Ever-hopeful, he gives the bawd an impassioned welcome in verse each time she comes. In the first of these conversations, when terms are arranged but the bawd has nothing to raise his hopes but promises of her good intentions, her business-like prose succeeds in bringing him back to everyday, prosaic reality (14-15). In the course of her other two visits, (39-43 and 72-4), when she has more to offer him, there is an amusing contrast between the high-flown rhetoric of the transported lover, who uses verse, and the matter-of-fact prose used by the bawd to whom, of course, passion is too much a part of her stock-in-trade for her to be overenthusiastic about one more unrequited lover. I shall again mention the importance of this unusual use of verse and prose in the next chapter.

In the limited space of this general study it is impossible to enumerate in detail the countless minor additions which help shift the setting of the Celestina from the end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the eighteenth century. The text is shot through with the addition of many original jokes, many of them bordering on the obscene. One joke made by Sempronio occurs in the first act when he arrives at Celestina's house. Celestina assumes he has come to see Elicia:

> Celestina.-I'll call the young Baggage; I wonder what makes her stay so: she wou'd not willingly be out of her Chamber, when you are not with her. — Elicia, Elicia.
> Sempronio.-Nor when I am, I'll say that for her. (7)

Sempronio has his little joke, but there is, of course, irony in his words that he is unaware of. He shows his fondness for Elicia because he believes her faithful, little knowing what goes on behind his back (for other examples of humour, see pages, 9, 21, 23, 25, 28, 35,

40, 41, 59).

As is customary with plays of this period, the text is heavy with contemporary satire. There are various references to the politics of the day. In describing the girls she looked after at the height of her trade, Celestina says: 'My Government was like that of France, Tyrannick; and my Laws, my Will and Pleasure' (62; see also pages 2, 11, 24, 60). Of the professions, it is lawyers who come in for the most sustained criticism (pages 24, 40, 48-9, 51, 62, 67, 70, 89) and it is also worth noting the pseudo-legal agreement that Sempronio and Parmeno make as a token of their new-found friendship (51). Together with the anti-clerical satire derived from the original work, there are other jibes at ecclesiastical practice. Referring again to her former glory, Celestina declares that her 'House was stor'd with Presents of all sorts, as if it had been a Customhouse-Warehouse, or a Parson's Barn' (63; see also pages 8-9, 84-5). Besides the professions, there are satirical references to court ladies (58-9) and to contemporary marriage (55).

There are a number of other elements worthy of our particular interest. Despite the declaration at the beginning of the play that the work takes place in Valencia, and the presence of a number of rather commonplace references to Spanish place-names and customs, the adapters add numerous references that would only be relevant to a London audience. As I suggest in the final chapter, there may be a deliberate policy on the part of the adapters to acknowledge far more points of similarity between Spain and England than are evident at first sight. One example of a reference to London again mentions the legal profession. In a long speech mostly of the

adapters' devising, Centurio boasts of the different sorts of people who hire him to teach them how to deal with their enemies:

> As your damn'd Poets, to revenge the Affronts offer'd the memory of their departed Scriptions; the Criticks, to fight those that don't like their Writings, tho' they like no body's; your Actors, to vindicate the Honour of their own, or their Fellow-Actresses unspotted Characters; ... your Inns of Court Men, to pink the Rascals that take the Wall of 'em: Then your Cits, hang 'em, I have little of their Custom — They have something to lose, and they love to live by't. (89)

Apart from the completely novel elements in A Tragi-Comedy the adapters also develop certain of the patterns running through the Celestina. They add, for instance, to the servants' motivation for wanting to kill the covetous old woman by increasing the revenue Celestina receives from different sources. With the promise of a gown to be delivered the following day, Calisto hands over an unspecified amount of money in exchange for Melibea's girdle (42). An addition to the quarrel at table between Sempronio and Elicia in Act IV is the fact that Elicia refuses to be reconciled with him, unless he gives her money to smooth the incident over. It is not clear from the text exactly who takes Sempronio's money (60), but it again appears to be the old bawd. As Sempronio and Parmeno leave their master to go to get their share from Celestina, Sempronio mentions to his fellow servant that, apart from the gold chain, 'She has receiv'd several other Presents, in all, I believe, to the Value of 900 Crowns' (81). This is far in excess of the hundred pieces, gown and chain given to Rojas' Celestina (leaving aside the money that she may have got direct from Sempronio, in his attempts to appease Elicia) and is far more the sort of sum for which, in those days, murder was worth committing.

The mention of Celestina's death brings us to the most interesting thematic addition to the tragic denouement of the Celestina. The references and presages of impending death that are already present in the Tragicomedia are reinforced and elaborated by the adapters, who, in changing the manner of death of the heroine, also change the presentiments accordingly. Those already present in the Celestina are retained by the adapters; Calisto's angry threat to kill Sempronio in the second scene and the servant's debate with himself as to whether he risks a surer death by going in to his master or by keeping clear of him until his anger has passed, both of these figure in the adaptation (2). So does the threat made against Celestina's life, though Melibea's speech as she does so is more open to interpretation - 'if ... you affront me so again, I will have your Blood, or you shall have mine' (33). What is also interesting in this scene is that just before these words, the adapters have introduced another innovation by having Melibea draw a dagger with the words 'if ever I hear of it again from thee, I'll stab thee to the Heart' (32). Apart from presaging the manner in which Celestina is going to die - both on this occasion and later when the servants demand their share of the takings, Celestina is vulnerable because on neither occasion are her explanations convincing - it also introduces the leitmotiv of the dagger which eventually becomes the sword with which Melibea kills herself.

The death images in the case of Calisto are more general ones; at the beginning of Act III he says to Celestina 'Kill me at once, and let me know my Doom'. Her reply is equally heavy with meaning: 'No; your Lordship is to fall by fairer hands' (39). The verb

'fall' does not seem to me to be a fortuitous choice. Yet the images he uses to describe himself in the third meeting with Celestina are still unspecific: 'Am I to live? or of Despair to dye?' (72) and even when he is with Melibea, the manner of his death is still kept vague - '

> Ah Wretch! to live again to be disgrac'd
> Again, a Thousand Tortures to endure;
> No, Death shall give me Ease. (78)

The most heavily ironic presage of the death of Celestina, again not inspired by the original work, is put into the mouth of Calisto, strangely enough. After having been given the girdle by Celestina, Calisto encourages her to carry her boldness further:

> Make me but Happy in my Charmer's Love
> Bring me to Melibea's Arms, and thou
> Shal't dig thy Grave in heaps of Gold. (42)

Sempronio and Parmeno, of course, are standing nearby listening. At the meal on the day before Celestina's murder, it is the whores rather than the men who include references to death in their words. The image of death by stabbing recurs again. Angered by Sempronio's praise of 'the Fair Melibea' Elicia says angrily, 'Let me come at him, I'll stab the Traytor to the Heart' (59). It is true that Elicia does curse Sempronio in the original, but her imprecation is a mild threat (Warner Allen, 141, 144) not a mortal curse. It is ironic, of course, that she is imprisoned for being an accessory to a similar murder that Sempronio had committed on Celestina, and that her desire for revenge should be the first step in a chain that ends with Melibea stabbing herself. The newest pair of lovers, Parmeno and Areusa, engage in some bantering at the end of the same scene which, nonetheless, has dire implications of what is to befall them later:

Areusa.-Hold, Hold, Spark; you threaten hard; but threaten'd
Folks live longest.
Parmeno.-And if thou art kill'd with kindness, thou wilt be the
first of thy Sex that dy'd so merrily.
Areusa.-I don't believe you'll murder me, with all your big
words. (63)

By the following morning, of course, not only has Parmeno helped to kill Celestina, but he has brought punishment on himself and his wench as a result.

When Calisto hears of the tragic occurrences of the night before, the final seeds of his own tragic end are being sown. Calisto expresses his sense of some inexplicable fear brooding over what should be a happy expectation. Sosia gives expression to this, too, 'Ev'ry thing goes awry with us — and this Intrigue of your Lordship's will bring us all to destruction' (92-3). As Melibea awaits him on the last night of their life, she also feels 'A chilling Cold; a rising Qualm of Guilt' (97). Earlier, she had said to Celestina that she could not accept the cure for her illness from Calisto:

If from him
My Cure is fetch'd, before I'll use it, Beldam;
Daggers or Poyson, Death shall be my Lot. (69)

Apart from the presentiment she gives of her own death, it is worth noting in passing that the tragic end of the dramatic adaptation recalls two other literary traditions. The lover who kills herself through grief at the death of the other is reminiscent of the Pyramus and Thisbe legend described by Ovid. In view of the reference here to poison, and Melibea's request to her parents that she should be buried side by side with her 'Husband' (101), there is an obvious allusion to Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet both

in the above quotation and in the ending to A Tragi-Comedy.

As might be expected from the number of hints of death that have been inserted in the preceding scenes, the final love scene also contains several more presentiments; in her happiness, Melibea exclaims:

> it cannot last us long.
> Sure 'tis not possible for Human Strength,
> This sweet Excess of Rapture to support ...
>
> Thus far with Pleasure I have gone; but farther
> Is Torture; 'tis Despair and Death: My Honour. (98)

After they have consummated their match, Melibea regrets bitterly what she has done:

> Melibea.-.... Gods! Can I outlive
> This fatal Night? For what's to come of Life
> Is Grief unutterable, vain Repentance,
> Despair, and all her Hellish Train of Woe,
> Calisto.-If thus you mean to kill me with your Fears,
> Tell me, and let me hasten with my Sword
> The Death, to which you've doom'd me.
> Melibea.-'T had been kind,
> If when we met, you'd sheath'd it in my Heart,
> And stabb'd your Image there. Thou dear Ingrate,
> I'm ruin'd by my Love - but love thee still. -
> What Noise is that? ... (p.100).

So Calisto hurries off to his death, and Melibea kills herself with his sword. Apart from the almost top-heavy irony in this last passage, there may be a conceit implied in this death image. Melibea is concerned about her honour no less than her life. Just as Calisto's sexual weapon has robbed her of her virginity and her honour, it is only fitting that his sword should rob her of her life, bringing the play to a fitting thematic climax.

CHARACTERISATION

The portrayal of character in A Tragi-Comedy is neither as elaborate nor as well-defined as that of Fernando de Rojas. We have seen that in dramatizing the Celestina the adapters were able to add several new elements: passages couched in verse, references to contemporary social events and manners and several motifs, but the drastic reduction of the length of the original meant of necessity a reduction in the amplitude of character portrayal. This is one general criticism that Mrs. Malkiel levels against this adaptation; she says of the servants, for instance, that the adaptation:

> opone convencionalmente al principio a Sempronio y Pármeno, pero luego los confunde, alterando sin comprensión toques caracterizadores ... También queda desdibujado el retrato de las dos cortesanas, y deshecha la segunda pareja de criados. (Originalidad, 279)

This is, incidentally, a charge that she makes against most of the attempts to imitate and adapt the Celestina, and her criticism remains valid, though one might plead in defence of the adapters' cursory portrayal that their declared intention was to reduce the dimensions of the original and that detailed characterisation was bound to suffer accordingly. Most of my remarks about the characters, apart from mentioning where each individual suffers from this enforced curtailment of their self-expression, refer more specifically to their role in the adaptation, to how that role has changed, and to how they affect the movements and motives of other characters.

It is not in fact true that the characters in the adaptation are always less developed than these in the original. The egoism of Calisto in the Tragicomedia prevents him from feeling much remorse when he hears of the fate of Sempronio and Pármeno in Act XIII. He shows little concern other than for his own reputation and safety, and for the success of his visit to Melibea. In the adaptation, this news causes Calisto to examine his motives much more closely, almost to the point of giving up his mission:

> Will nothing wake thee, Reason? Not the Voice
> Of Heav'n, that in thy Faithful Servants Fate
> Bids thee behold the Ruin that surrounds thee.
> To sleep thou still art by soft Passions lull'd,
> And nothing which the Noble and the Wise
> Prefer to Life, can touch thee ...
> Ha, if I think of this again; Oh Love,
> Not all thy boasted Pow'rs will keep me firm,
> But I shall soon renounce thy Promis'd Joys. (92)

There is more of the tragic here about this Calisto. We see from this speech that his passion for Melibea is the fatal flaw in an otherwise virtuous character, and it is this flaw that sends him to his death. He is a far more humane lover than the original, and therefore, I would contend, more worthy of our sympathies. Unlike his model, the Calisto of the adaptation is aware that Sempronio deceives him for his own gain, yet he still encourages his servant good-humouredly (5). He depends noticeably on his servants, and uses them still more as confidants. As well as his disclosures to Sempronio and Parmeno in Act I, there is a lengthy scene in the final act which follows the above quotation where Calisto uses Sosia - Sosio in the adaptation - as a sounding-board as he debates whether to ignore the ill-omens and carry through his assignation with Melibea (92-4).

This interest in the workings of a character's own conscience rather than in the dictates of social convention also applies to Melibea. Mrs. Malkiel says of her that 'el tercedor de la honra no es ya para esta Melibea la sanción social sino la de su propia conciencia' (466). In both characters, the inward impulses of the mind are carefully analysed, yet for both characters the force of love proves stronger and is finally the main cause of the tragedy.

Earlier in the adaptation, Melibea's reactions to the persuasions of Celestina are more violent, if her anger abates more quickly. The dagger she offers to Celestina's breast not only reinforces the death motif by indicating the manner in which both are to die, but also adds to the force of her rebuttal, as if to compensate for what this scene loses in dramatic effect by having been shortened. Perhaps the adapters wish to suggest by this violent reaction that Celestina is nearer the truth of Melibea's deepest feelings than she herself is prepared to openly admit, and this certainly contributes to the reader's understanding of her equally violent change of heart in Act IV of the adaptation, when she reveals to Celestina her changed feelings for Calisto. The exact reasons for her change of heart are as ambiguous here as they are in the Tragicomedia. Mrs. Malkiel emphasizes the role of sorcery in her transformation (Originalidad, 466), but it is clear that there is another element of more immediate importance which affects her final decision to yield to Calisto's advances. At the beginning of the final scene, Melibea announces:

> Think'st thou, Lucretia, I wou'd leave Calisto,
> To Wed the Monarch of the World? My Heart
> Is his, and can endure no other Lord.
> Another must To-morrow have my Hand:
> My Father thus commands, my Mother prays;
> But Mother, Father, all must yield to Love.
> This Night at least is mine, and this I'll give
> To my Calisto, — (97)

It is true that in Act XVI of the Tragicomedia, Pleberio and Alisa give the impression that they are prepared to give their daughter some say in the choice of a husband, but their plans to marry her are envisaged as happening at some unspecified time in the future, and hardly, therefore, affect Melibea's decision to yield to Calisto to the extent that the news of an impending marriage affects Melibea in the adaptation.

Apart from his indirect influence on the plot that I have just described, Pleberio's role is reduced to a silent appearance at the conclusion of the dramatic adaptation. Alisa's appearances are also brief and Mrs. Malkiel accuses the adapters of portraying Alisa with 'una marcada idealización sentimental' (496). It is certainly true that she seems more feeble-witted than her model. In the adaptation she pleads deafness when talking with Celestina (28). In the original, her suspicions are aroused when Melibea and Celestina give two different reasons for the latter's second visit. In the dramatic adaptation, she relies entirely on the word of Lucretia for this information (71).

This last observation is one of many indications that Lucrecia - Lucretia in the adaptation - is the character whose significance has increased most noticeably in the dramatic adaptation. This change does not so much affect her contribution to the action as emphasize

the centrality of her position in the work as a whole.[5] In the Tragicomedia, Pleberio brings the work to its conclusion with a lengthy and erudite lament for the death of his daughter and the tragedy that illicit love can cause. Hitherto he has contributed nothing significant to the action.[6] The reduction of his role to that of mute observer in the audience that listens to Lucrebia's summation of the events of the play seems to have two functions for the adapters. It removes the necessity to include even a shortened version of Pleberio's speech in an already lengthy play. It also indicates that the adapters were probably not satisfied that his participation in the events of the Celestina warranted giving him the role of final adjudicator in the closing moments of their play.

Why was this task given to Lucrecia? Unlike Pleberio, she has been well placed to observe and understand all the important events that have led to this tragic denouement. As servant to Melibea and cousin to Areúsa (and therefore to Elicia), she is the only character in a position to have intimate knowledge both of the attitudes of her mistress (and by extension those of Calisto), and also of the stratagems of Celestina and her confederates. Mrs. Malkiel suggests that the dramatic adaptation 'suprime los apartes en que Lucrecia denunciaba los manejos de la tercerona' (656). This is not strictly accurate; it is true that the adapters delete some of the maid's asides, but they retain enough to convey the impression that Lucrebia is adequately familiar with the wiles of the old bawd (A Tragi-Comedy, 36, 37 and 67). But the unique nature of her role does not only depend on her advantageous position. She witnesses the seduction of

Melibea by Celestina and Calisto in turn and is, at the end of the play (with all other protagonists either dead or imprisoned), the only major character to have withstood the catastrophe. She is therefore the only person entitled to describe the tragic events, point the moral for the audience, and bring the work to a fitting conclusion. In an age when a compact and polished resolution was felt to be essential for a good drama, this change must surely have been regarded as an improvement on the denouement of the original and such a modification is, of course, entirely in keeping with the Neoclassical stance of the authors.

Mrs. Malkiel is probably right to see the portrayal of the servants as inferior to that of their models (279-80 and 637-8). She observes, for instance, that 'Esta adaptación ... no apreció el cambio gradual de Pármeno (638). While it is true that the space for painstaking characterisation was simply not available within the scope of a five-act play written for performance, it must also be stated that original and careful portrayal of character is not among the adapters' strongest dramatic virtues. Parmeno's change of heart in Acts II and III of the adaptation betrays few of the strong misgivings that he dwells upon in the Tragicomedia. The seniority of Sempronio over Parmeno is much less emphatic, too, and after Parmeno's pseudo-legal agreement with Sempronio (51), there is little to help us distinguish between the two servants. Sosia has a slightly augmented role as confidant to Calisto in Act V, though his role of informer as to the nocturnal movements of his master, which plays an important function in the final tragedy of the 21-act Celestina is, of course, removed from the adaptation. His fellow-

servant Tristán lacks any real significance in the play, and this weakness detracts from the balance that these two servants provided to Sempronio and Pármeno in the Tragicomedia.

The pairing of Elicia and Areúsa, in contrast with that of the servants, is emphasized by the presence of the latter at Celestina's house. This move also reinforces the parallels that Rojas draws between each of the pairs of servants and girls, for both Sempronio and Parmeno, who live in Calisto's house enjoy the favours of the two women who now live at Celestina's house. Centurio's collaboration with the two whores is less developed here; the plans they make for vengeance on the lovers take up much less space, but Centurio's monologue at the end of Act XVIII of the Tragicomedia, in which he reveals his intention to transfer his responsibility for the vendetta to Traso and his friends, is turned into a short comic interlude which precedes the final scene of the dramatic adaptation (95-6). Both of the whores are pale reflections of their models. Elicia occasionally shows flashes of original humour in her exchanges with Sempronio, such as the innuendo in the following example. As Celestina makes ready to summon the forces of the devil, she says:

> Celestina.-Go Sempronio, I have no more to say to thee. What I am about to do is mysterious, and thy unhallow'd Presence wou'd spoil the Charm.
> Sempronio.-A very holy Operation, no doubt on't.
> Elicia.-Come, come Bully, follow me. I'll conjure as well as she. Let's see who raises him first. (24-5, see also p.55).

She is often more mercenary than the original Elicia, demanding more monetary compensation from Sempronio when he offends her at table, and having the facility to produce tears at will to gain her own ends (59-60). Areúsa's coyness at the suggestion that Pármeno

be given leave to enjoy her favours is an even more transparent deceit in the adaptation: it appears that Celestina has persuaded her to favour Parmeno beforehand, and this is the reason we find her staying at Celestina's house (44). This is emphasized later in the same scene when Celestina at last loses patience when Areusa overplays her role as a bashful virgin. Areúsa's compliance in the Tragicomedia, reluctant to the end, is here replaced by the sudden removal of her facade of coyness as she tries to conciliate Celestina:

> Why so angry, Mother; one can't say a word, but you presently fly out into a Passion - you're as touchy as a Wasp - Pray don't be out of humour. (48)

There is very little solidity to this Areusa. It is probably of some significance that her only really edifying contribution to the Tragicomedia, her long speech on the ill-treatment of serving-maids in Act IX, is here put into the mouth of Elicia (62).

It can scarcely be said that Celestina enjoys here the pride of place that she has in the Bawd of Madrid, as I shall demonstrate a little later. As far as the dramatic adaptation is concerned, Mrs. Malkiel describes her character as 'más enumerado que dramáticamente actualizado' (588). Again, this should first be attributed to the restraints that the dramatists impose on themselves, but when this has been said, it is nevertheless true that the character of Celestina has here lost much of her vitality. On two occasions during her first conversation with Melibea, she apologizes for her old age and failing memory (31, 34-5). While this is obviously a device to cover up her tactical errors, her senility is unfortunately emphasized by the fact that the adapters are forced to omit many of her

finest and most memorable speeches in the interests of brevity. The Celestina of the adaptation is, however, a much more forthright and less hypocritical custodian of her own rights when extorting money from Calisto. In Act III, having obtained the girdle from Melibea, she knows the strength of her bargaining position with Calisto and does not mince her words. In reply to his words of rapturous welcome, Celestina says:

> No Raptures, my Lord; I am a Woman of Business; I always come to the Point; and the nearer I bring you to it, the more I hope to share of your Bounty. (39)

With Parmeno, she is equally down to earth. When he expresses doubt as to whether he ought to trust her, she replies with admirable irony:

> No, by no means, I'm an Old, False, Ugly, Ill-contriv'd Hag, and thou a Wise, Sober, Modest, Handsome, Discreet Youth; no never trust me, I may perhaps bring thee to the Arms of Areusa. (19)

Yet the Celestina of the adaptation does betray the occasional psychological weakness, a blemish in portrayal which reflects adversely on the authors. The only speech she declaims in verse is the one in which she summons the aid of the forces of evil. If you obey, she promises them:

> I'm at thy Command for ever,
> Who soon among thy Slaves shall be enroll'd
> A Dweller with the Fiends in endless Woe. (26)

To the modern reader, at least, it is hard to imagine why she should want to condemn herself to 'endless Woe' for such an insubstantial reward. Her willing enslavement to the devil, not an aspect of her character that the original emphasizes, detracts much from her vitality as a self-determining character in the adaptation. In her Originalidad artística, Mrs. Malkiel expresses the belief that Celestina's witchcraft is the chief instrument in Melibea's change of

heart (466). While there may be an element of truth in this, it should be pointed out that attitudes to witchcraft were not quite so fearful in the eighteenth century as they had been in earlier times (see chapter XI, p.225).[7] But if we regard Lucretia's final words as most closely representing the adapters' own attitude, then we should also take note of her reference to 'Melibea's Guilt' (102). There is no mention of witchcraft in this final speech and it seems clear that the dramatists considered Melibea at least as culpable in her own moral and physical downfall as the influence of the old woman's sorcery and persuasion.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. There is no reference to A Tragi-Comedy in The London Stage, 1660-1800, ed. Emmett L. Avery et al., 5 pts. in 11 vols. (Carbondale: S. Illinois U.P., 1960-68). I have been largely unsuccessful in discovering helpful references to the works containing the adaptations in the newspapers at the time of their publication. The Spanish Libertines is mentioned twice: the Observator No. 74 (Nov. 12-15, 1707) refers to the work as 'Just published'; there is an advertisement for Stevens' work in The Daily Courant for Friday, Jan. 2, 1707/8.

2. Essays of Dryden, ed. W.P. Ker, i(Oxford: Clarendon, 1926), 59-60.

3. La originalidad artística de La Celestina (2a ed., Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria,1970), 58. The Horatian epigraph comes from De Arte Poetica - Epistola ad Pisones 11.189-90.

4. For references to the ill-discipline of Restoration audiences see John Harold Wilson, A Preface to Restoration Drama (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1968), 40-2; Malcolm Elwin, The Playgoer's Handbook to Restoration Drama (London: Cape, 1928), 151-2.

5. Most critics have tended to see Melibea's maid in a somewhat passive role in the Celestina, but for an interesting exception to this view see Katherine Eaton, "The Character of Lucrecia in La Celestina," Annali dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Sezione

6. See also Marcel Bataillon, La Célestine selon Fernando de Rojas (Paris: Didier, 1961), 184.

7. For the importance of witchcraft in the Celestina see P.E. Russell, "La magia como tema integral de la Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea," Studia Philologica. Homenaje ofrecido a Damaso Alonso, iii (Madrid: Gredos, 1963), 337-354.

CHAPTER VI

THE AUTHORSHIP OF

A TRAGI-COMEDY

In the previous two chapters I have tried to give an outline of the main features of A Tragi-Comedy, what it owes to the Celestina and how it develops and adds to its source. In making these distinctions between debts and innovations, I hope I have allowed certain distinctive characteristics of the work to emerge naturally, characteristics which will now prove useful as we speculate about the possible identity of its author or authors.

The two-volume work we have been studying offers us only two specific clues in the matter of authorship, and both are open to more than one interpretation. The first title-page of both volumes contains the words 'By several Hands'. The 'Epistle Dedicatory' to the first volume is signed by 'J. Savage' (sig. $A4^{b}$).

The phrase 'By several Hands' could be a guarded allusion to the fact that the versions of both Guzman and Celestina are works of mixed origin. In discussing the possible sources of both works we saw that The Life of Guzman has two and possibly three versions in its family tree (see p.53,above), and A Tragi-Comedy has at least one (see p.55, above), apart from being itself a thorough reworking. This might be seen as the author's way of acknowledging his debts. This is a possible meaning, but not a likely one because the usual meaning of the phrase refers to the work at hand and its manner of production. In other words,

more than one individual was involved in writing it. This is, as we shall see, supported by the use of 'we' in the 'Epistle Dedicatory', and in 'the English Translators Preface' that follows it in the first volume. One of these individuals is likely to have been the signatory of the Epistle, 'J. Savage'.

'J. Savage' is probably to be identified with the author and translator, John Savage, mentioned in the Dictionary of National Biography.[1] At the time when he penned this Epistle, Savage would have been about thirty-four years of age, and incumbent at the parish of Bigrave in Hertfordshire, a benefice patronised by James Cecil, fifth earl of Salisbury, to whom John Savage had formerly been companion, tutor and chaplain. According to the DNB, they travelled together for eight years, 'visiting nearly every country in Europe', but it is not known whether Savage had developed his aptitude for languages before this expedition.[2] When they returned to England, Salisbury presented him with the living of Bigrave, which Savage resigned in 1708 for the more valuable benefice of nearby Clothall. Savage was to occupy this position until his death in March, 1747. His interests remained far from parochial, however, and he was a frequent visitor to London.[3] Between 1694, when he seems to have been living in the Inner Temple,[4] and 1711, he translated and helped to translate more than a dozen foreign works, predominantly essays and collections of letters. Among his more noteworthy ventures were translations of the letters of Antonio de Guevara (1697), Gracián's Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia (1702), and The Whole Comical Works of P. Scarron (1700) from the French. There is a portrait of him facing the title-page of his

Compleat History of Germany (1702). After 1711 he seems to have written very little for publication. The parody Horace to Scaeva (see above, note 3) suggests that he looked to find favour in other sectors of London society.

The fact that John Savage added his signature to the 'Epistle Dedicatory' has prompted Martínez Lacalle to designate him sole author of the adaptation A Tragi-Comedy.[5] This scarcely does justice to the available evidence. It takes no account of the declaration of the title-page that the contents of the two volumes are 'By several Hands'. It is also difficult to consider Savage's use of 'we' in the Epistle as merely a convention of his time, since in the prefatory material to works of which he is unquestionably the sole author, he invariably uses the first person singular.[6] It ignores, furthermore, the frequent use of 'we' in the unsigned 'English Translators Preface'. For the editor or overseer of a work to sign the dedication was a common eighteenth-century convention, and the only real significance that we can attach to the fact that John Savage signed the Epistle is that he is likely to have been responsible for the whole venture, and was possibly the best known of the translators. But we may only infer from his use of the plural form that he is speaking on behalf of his fellow translators.

All this is not to doubt for a moment that Savage played a part in translating, certainly The Life of Guzman, since this is the work he introduces in the Epistle, and possibly A Tragi-Comedy, though no reference is made to the Celestina in the Epistle. I suggested in Chapter III that A Tragi-Comedy and its preface may have been a late

and hurried addition to the original work for publication, so apart from his co-ordinating role as editor, it is not necessarily true that Savage was involved in the reworking of the Celestina. But I have strongly taken issue with Martínez Lacalle's assertion that John Savage is the sole dramatist, because there is one important factor of which she seems unaware.

The five-act Tragi-Comedy, we have seen, is an accomplished and eminently stageable piece of theatre, despite its drawbacks and although it can hardly be considered an outstanding example of late Restoration drama. The difficulty of ascribing the dramatization of the Celestina to John Savage is simply that there is not the slightest indication in his extant works of any experience in writing works for the stage or of any particular interest in drama in general. As to the use of blank verse throughout the adaptation, neither have we any evidence of his ability to versify prose, or of any notable skill in writing lyrical poetry.[7] Whilst not excluding the real possibility that Savage took a hand in the reworking of the Celestina, we must look further afield for the dramatist who adapted it to the stage.

In the short sketch of Savage's life we saw that he collaborated with translators and other writers on a number of occasions. Rather than speculate wildly about large numbers of other dramatists who lived during this period, a more fruitful line of investigation that I propose to follow, is to look at each of Savage's known collaborators before and after the publishing of the dramatic adaptation of the Celestina.

Nearest to the date of The Life of Guzman and A Tragi-Comedy, but more than three years after it, Savage helped Thomas Ferne M.D. to

translate The Works of Lucian (1711) from the Greek. As well as being a physician, Ferne was a Greek scholar, but seems to have had no special interest in drama or poetry. His only other published work is a medical treatise, A perfect cure for the King's evil..., published in 1705.

Savage had a longer-standing literary partnership with Thomas Brown of Shifnal.[8] Their friendship probably stems from the time of their studies at Oxford, though Brown was several years his senior. Together they published a collection of the humorous works of Paul Scarron (1700), but, for our present study, a more interesting work is the second volume of the Miscellany Essays (1694) of the French divine Marquetel de Saint-Denis (M. de St. Evremont), to which they both contributed translations. It will be useful at this stage to examine this volume more closely.[9]

From the pagination of the text it is evident that, though the translations are bound together in the British Library copy, they were originally printed separately. The first part of the Miscellany Essays, translated by Brown and Dr James Drake, a close friend of his, occupies the first 280 pages of this copy. At this point the pagination begins again, running to 203 pages.

More important to our purpose than the pagination of the volume is the very close collaboration between the two translators of this second part. This is best conveyed by tabulating the chapter headings of the essays and letters:

Chap. I Of the Use of Life. By Mr Savage of the Inner-Temple. (page 1)

Chap. II Of the Existence of God. (7)

Chap. III Of Restraint. (16)

Chap. IV Of Reputation. By another Hand. (20)

Chap. V Of Vexations and Displeasures. By the same Hand. (26)

Chap. VI Of Pleasures. By Mr Manning of Inner-Temple.

The Same Hand with the former. (39)

To M^lle^ L—. A Consolatory Discourse. By Mr Manning. (49)

Chap. I Of the True and False Beauty of Ingenious Writings.

By Mr Savage. (92)

Chap. II Of the Clearness of Expression by Mr Manning. (104)

Chap. III Of the Exactness of Reasoning.

To the Earl of St. Albans. By Mr Savage. [Followed by other letters - no translator given.] (127-203)

The important point to be made here is that nowhere else in his published work does John Savage have such a close association with any other writer. In other literary partnerships, such as that with Tom Brown, Savage's work is published contiguously, but never does he share the translation of the same piece of work as he does in the third part of the Miscellany Essays, as indicated above.

What, then, is the likelihood that one of these three writers, Brown, Drake or Manning, is another of the 'several Hands' who composed the dramatic adaptation of the Celestina? If the work of adaptation was carried out not very long before its publication in November of 1707,[10] then one of these three can be excluded immediately; Tom Brown died in Aldersgate Street, London in June 1704.[11] Apart from their

appearance together in the British Museum copy of St. Evremont's Essays, Savage is not known to have collaborated with James Drake. Translation was, in any case, a sideline to Drake's main profession, that of physician (he was a fellow of the Royal Society, and of the College of Physicians), but he did write one work for the theatre, a play in prose entitled The Sham Lawyer (1697).[12] The title-page states that it was 'Damnably Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane', and although it is a fairly undistinguished work, relying heavily on intrigue, jealousy and a succession of unlikely coincidences for its dramatic and humorous effects, it does have one interesting character in Mrs. Vernish, a clever and witty go-between, though there are not enough similarities for any connection with Celestina to be established with any conviction. The Sham Lawyer is said by the DNB to be based on Fletcher's Spanish Curate and Wit without Money. But even apart from his tenuous connection with John Savage, Drake is a doubtful contender for much the same reason as Tom Brown; he spent the last year of his life strenuously opposing a writ for libel served on him in 1706 for a political satire he had written some time previously, an exhausting battle that probably helped bring on the fever that resulted in his death at Westminster on March 2nd 1707.[13]

Without knowing the exact period when A Tragi-Comedy was written - and I have suggested in chapter III that it may have been completed in some haste for publication in November of the same year - it is hard to say whether James Drake was in a position to contribute to the adaptation, or if he did, what his distinctive contribution to the reworking was, seeing that the only play we have of his is in prose.

Least of all is known about the other contributor to the Miscellany Essays, Francis Manning. He does not qualify for an entry in the DNB, and the British Library confuses his literary work with that of another 'F.Manning' who also wrote poetry,[14] but it seems clear that a number of occasional poems are from his pen: A Pastoral Essay (1695) and The Shrine (1702), written on the deaths of Queen Mary and William III respectively, and Greenwich-Hill (1697). In 1694, according to the Miscellany Essays, John Savage and Francis Manning were at Inner Temple. There is no record of Savage having been admitted to Inner Temple though many people lived in the Temple who were not members and thus could be called 'of Inner Temple' by way of address. The records of admission do show, however, that Francis Manning was associated with the Inns of Court for a long time. He was admitted to Middle Temple in March 1689 and later entered the Inner Temple in June 1698, and this suggests that Manning may have remained in the legal profession after Savage had moved out to Hertfordshire.[15] However this may be, we may conjecture that the two men first met whilst living at the Inns of Court and that their friendship and literary collaboration dates from this period. Apart from his connections with the legal profession we know that Manning knew French and was also well versed in the classics, publishing a two-volume translation of the History of Dion Cassius in 1704. What is of even more interest is that he turned his hand to playwriting at the turn of the century. Two of his plays, The Generous Choice (1700) and All for the Better (staged Nov. 1702, date of publication, 1703), were performed at the New Theatre and the

Theatre Royal, Drury Lane respectively.[16] After 1704, there seem to be no other works of which he claimed authorship. I have found no adequate reason to account for his silence; he was probably not older than Savage, since the prologue to The Generous Choice describes him as 'The young Writer of the following Scenes' (sig. A3^{a}).

Both plays reflect many of the preoccupations of the age. The setting of both works in a Spanish context is indicative of the current interest in things Spanish among dramatists and theatregoers that I noted in chapter II; the characters of both plots display the imagined but not very convincing manners of the leisured classes of Spanish society. The men are cynical and wary of the snares of love and marriage, but the women win through, despite the fickleness of their men, by dint of courage, wit and constancy, and, of course, all ends happily in marriage. The plots themselves depend for their dramatic effect on disguise, mistaken identity and, like Drake's Sham Lawyer, fortuitous coincidence. As with many such plays of the day, the action is both too trivial and too complex to be summarized briefly, but what do merit our close attention are the points at which close similarities with A Tragi-Comedy may be detected.

In an age when interest both in Spain and Neoclassical dramatic theory ran high, the similarities that strike the reader immediately should probably carry least weight in assessing whether Francis Manning helped to write the dramatic adaptation of 1707. All three plays are written in five acts and take place in Spain. Like A Tragi-Comedy, The Generous Choice is located in Valencia; All for the Better is set

in Madrid. All three title-pages carry a short Horatian epigraph, each enshrining an aspect of the Latin poet's literary theory.

The next area of similarity, that of verbal reminiscence, is normally so fraught with pitfalls and wishful thinking that the evidence it furnishes in authorship investigations is of a strictly limited value, and is more safely considered, if at all, as corroborative evidence rather than that on which a case stands or falls. The fact that two plays use the same or similar words might prove only that both were written during the same period of linguistic history, or that one author had borrowed from the work of the other. In short, this fact may tell us more about the currency of certain words and phrases than demonstrate conclusively that two works were written by the same author. At the other extreme, the fact that two works betray no striking verbal similarities, especially if a number of years separate the composition of each, also says nothing either way about the question of their authorship. I say this at this juncture because comparing the two acknowledged plays of Manning with each other has yielded no more convincing evidence than when I compared either work with A Tragi-Comedy.

But once it has been established that verbal similarity is in itself inconclusive, it must be affirmed that there are a number of words and phrases in Manning's plays that find an echo in the dramatic adaptation of the Celestina. I set out these similarities in the groups below; I have avoided using as examples material which is taken from Mabbe's translation for such evidence would prove only that both Manning and the adapter of the Celestina had read Mabbe's translation.

i) 'Water-Wagtail'

-Why, Sir, sure as you're alive, this Water-Wagtail told me, that the whole Business of this wicked Town was Love. ('1st Anthony' Generous Choice, page 12).

-Come hither, come hither, you Little Water-Wag-Tail... (Celestina, A Tragi-Comedy, 16).

ii) 'San Iago'

Elvira goes to pray to San Iago for the release from prison of the Englishman Woodvil (All for the Better, 32).

Celestina tells Melibea that if she will not accept her advice, then the girl must go to San Iago (ATC, 68).

iii) Stock idea of 'Old Count' from Spain.

Don Frederick mentions the 'old Count', father of Bernardo (GC, I).

Lucretia describes Pleberio's choice of a husband as 'that Old Miserly Count' (ATC, 97).

iv) Referemes to Venus, the goddess of Love.

The maid Dorila invites Venus to help her lady Eleonora. (GC, 3).

Johnson swears by Venus (AB, 6).

Manuel declares that 'Venus has a strange Ascendant over Alphonso ' (AB, 16).

Parmeno swears by Venus (ATC, 50).

Calisto swears by Venus (ATC, 73).

Calisto declares that Venus should resign her sway to Melibea (ATC, 72).

[None of these last three examples is found in Mabbe's translation, though Mabbe does refer to Venus at other times.]

v) Idea of the obsession of the poet.

-Well, I see when once a Man has indulg'd the Humour of bantering, 'tis as hard for him to leave it, as 'tis for a Poet to cease Writing, when he has once begun. (Bernardo, GC, 25)

(Of Calisto) - For as People when they're out of their Wits are so fond of Talking, that, for want of Company, they'll talk to themselves; so Lovers and Poets can't let their Tongues, no more than their Brains, lye idle.
(Sempronio, ATC, 53)

[The phrase in Mabbe's version at this point is 'he does but talk idly in his sleep, and thou thinkest the poor man is turned poet' (Warner Allen, 135). It is true that the germ of the idea is already present in the Celestina, but the elaboration and the emphasis are those of the adapter.]

vi) Reaction of women to lost honour.

-Since thou hast rob'd me of my dearest part
Torn me from Ease, from Honour, from my Self,
And blasted all my hopes of Spotless Fame,
Oh! take my Life, and I forgive the Wrong. ...
Thou hast destroy'd an inoffensive Maid;
For ever hast thou shut me out from Quiet.
These Cheeks, that never wore a guilty Blush,
Now Crimson'd o'er, will to all Eyes betray
My lost Condition, lost to Peace and Fame.-
O wretched, wretched me! (Isabella, AB, 11)

-Oh let me never leave that black Retreat,
The Scene of my Dishonour: Keep Light from me,
My Eyes are sick, and cannot bear it. Hah,
Is there a Darkness that can hide my Shame?
Is there a Gloom that can conceal my Guilt? ...
And was Conscience so asleep?
'Twill never wake us with its Terrors. ...
Was it well,
To rob me of a Jewel, which nor Crowns,
Nor Worlds can purchase, or restore? Oh Torment!
It stings - and ne're shall I know quiet more.
(Melibea, ATC, 99)

vii) References to legal practice, generally as satire.

'1st Anthony' has a dream about a Golden Age in London when 'Lawyers forbore taking Fees on both sides.' (GC, 16)

Frederick explains Don Phillip's courtship of Cornelia in legal terminology, e.g.; 'Trial ... Some Articles ... had been agreed to on both sides, but he refusing to perform his part ... they were contracted ... you shall do her Justice'. (GC, 35)

Song from without: 'Then equal Laws let custom find,
Nor either sex oppress ...'. (GC, 5-6)

The dramatic adaptation contains many legal references (see above, p.92) e.g., the 'articles' agreed between Parmeno and Sempronio as a pact of their friendship (51); the reference to the loose living of an 'Inns-of-Court Blade (55). See also ATC, 40, 48-9, 62 and 70.

viii) The last of these similarities is difficult to categorize; there are two soliloquies, that of Lopez (AB, 15) and that of Calisto (ATC, 92), which portray each character's major fault. Lopez marvels at the power that gold has over him, and the errors cupidity drives him to commit. In the speech that begins 'Will nothing wake thee, Reason?', Calisto sees the tragedy that his lust has created around him, but is still unable to command the higher virtues of honour and fame that could even now redeem him. In their clear insight into their own fatal flaw, and their total inability to do anything to redeem themselves, these two characters show a remarkably similar manner of thinking.

The most noticeable change in A Tragi-Comedy, apart from the drastic shortening of the 21-act Celestina to a drama of five acts, is the use of verse throughout the adaptation. The unusual way in which A Tragi-Comedy employs rhetorical devices offers, I believe, the most convincing similarities with the known plays of Francis Manning.

This similarity is less marked in The Generous Choice, which is almost entirely written in prose. In keeping with the conventions of Restoration drama, Acts I, IV and V and many of the scenes end with one or more sets of rhyming lines, called heroic couplets. There is, however, one speech couched in blank verse, which occurs at one of the few moments of sustained emotion in an otherwise lightweight comedy that moves at a breathless pace throughout. This is a six-line soliloquy spoken by Olivia in Act IV (31), in which she reaffirms her undying love for the wayward and faithless Don Phillip, despite his ill-use of her.

All for the Better, completed two years later, is in many senses a more lyrical work. Rhyming couplets are used more often at the end

of scenes and at the end of each act. Various songs, notably two 'By Mr Daniel Purcell', are inserted at appropriate intervals. The female characters, especially Isabella, are allowed to explore their feelings more fully, and there is less emphasis on situational comedy. Accordingly, blank verse abounds, and is used on eight different occasions in dialogue and soliloquy. It is here, rather than in Manning's first published play, that formal comparisons with A Tragi-Comedy suggest themselves more readily. In All for the Better there is again a consistent use of verse to convey sincere and intense emotion. In Act III, for example, Isabella entreats Death to release her from the clutches of her kidnapper, Don Alphonso (21); previously, her father, called old Mendez, also uses iambic pentameters to lament the forced abduction of his daughter (4). In the closing scenes of the play (50), the rake Alphonso declares he is a changed man and proposes marriage to Isabella, again using verse to express his feelings.

The use of verse at moments of intense emotional expression is not in itself unusual, though not many other late Restoration dramatists work with it. Commenting on the best-known of these, Kenneth Muir observes that:

> Cibber, whether accidentally or by design, drops into blank verse in emotional passages; and the same thing ... is apt to happen to Vanbrugh and Farquhar.[17]

The common practice of Restoration dramatists who worked in verse was to define the use of verse and prose fairly rigidly. Verse was often the vehicle of the 'noble' characters only and, apart from exceptional moments in the plays of such writers as those mentioned by Muir, verse and prose do not appear in the same scene.[18] Yet even

in the works of these dramatists, verse and prose are not set off against each other for dramatic or ironic effect, as happens twice in All for the Better, and still more frequently in the dramatic adaptation of the Celestina. In the former of these two plays, this ironic counterpoint of prose and verse contrasts the seemingly off-hand attitude of Alphonso with the angry and indignant Isabella:

Alphonso.-What can I say to her now? Methinks I begin to pity her.

Isabella.-Ha! What art thou? If thou art one that own'st
A human Soul, and art not wholly deaf
To all Intreaties, grant my just Request.
Since thou hast rob'd me of my dearest part,
Torn me from Ease, from Honour, from my Self,
And blasted all my hopes of Spotless Fame,
Oh! take my Life, and I forgive the Wrong.

Alphonso.-What, add Murder to a Rape! No, I thank you, Madam;
I can't resolve to be so obliging to you ...

Isabella.-And well thou may'st repent, for thou hast done
A Deed that will for ever sting thy Heart
If thou art not divested of Humanity.
Thou hast destroy'd an inoffensive Maid;
For ever hast thou shut me out from Quiet.
These Cheeks, that never wore a guilty Blush,
Now crimson'd o'er, will to all Eyes betray
My lost Condition, lost to Peace and Fame.-
O wretched, wretched me!

Alphonso.-Come, come, Madam, what's past is past. You need not be so wretched unless you have a mind to be so. (AB, 11)

The other occasion on which Manning uses verse and prose together within the space of a few lines is less clear-cut than the previous example. Young Mendez sets out in search of his kidnapped sister, Isabella, in the company of a friend (23). The former begins the scene in verse, his friend replies in prose. His feelings somewhat assuaged by the arguments of his friend, Young Mendez also adopts prose for his

next speech. Yet towards the end of this scene, their increasing concern for the safety of the abducted woman becomes evident, for both move into verse as they exit, searching feverishly for Isabella.

Choosing two somewhat parallel examples very much at random from A Tragi-Comedy, we see much the same dramatic conception at work. An interplay between two characters similar to the first example from All for the Better is found at the point where Celestina comes to visit the frantic Calisto in Act III of the adaptation. Celestina's replies are in fact much longer than those of Alphonso, and are not set out in full, though one can clearly see the same pattern at work:

> Calisto.-Oh, Mother! Welcome as refreshing Showres
> To the parch'd Earth. - What tidings from my Love!
>
> Celestina.-No Raptures, my Lord: I am a Woman of Business; I
> always come to the Point ... I bring you Hope.
>
> Calisto.-Hope; why, to hope is such Excess of Joy,
> That at the Sound my Soul begins to swim,
> And I'm transported —
>
> Celestina.-Stay - save this Fury for another: Lord, I am a poor
> Woman in Rags and Tatters; ... Yet I'm as well receiv'd
> by my good Lady Melibea, as others in their Silks and Sattins.
>
> Calisto.-She keeps me on the Rack - Say where you saw her.
> What was she doing? How did you address her?
> What did you say, and what did she reply?
> How got you to her? Did you find her well?
> And as you found her, did you leave her?
>
> Celestina.-Hold! A True Lover o' my Conscience - Here are as many
> Interrogatories, as fairly manag'd by a Chancery-Clerk,
> wou'd not be answer'd under Fifty Crowns Cost, and I must
> do it for nothing, must I? ... Before I left her, she was
> as pliant as her Taffety Petticoat.

> Calisto.-Now thou again hast lifted me to Extasy;
> Speak on, for if she spoke thee fair, my Heart
> Deceives me, or she'll be as kind to me;
> And then —
>
> Celestina.-What's more impertinent than the Transports of a hoping
> Lover?

(ATC, 39-41)

The ironic counterpoint in All for the Better is also parallelled in Celestina's other conversation with Calisto, in Act I (14); in Celestina's second meeting with Melibea in Act IV (65-71); and in the final act when Sosia brings the news of the execution of Sempronio and Parmeno to his master Calisto (91-4).

It is harder to find a scene that gives an adequate parallel to the scene in All for the Better that involves Young Mendez and his friend in several rapid changes from verse to prose and back again, but perhaps the most appropriate is the scene in Act V of A Tragi-Comedy in which Celestina is killed and the whores ask Centurio to avenge her death (87-90). At her entry onstage, in response to Celestina's cries for help, Elicia begins in prose, but vows revenge in verse as Areusa enters with Centurio. Areusa, taking her cue from Elicia, accompanies her in verse for about a page, and then lapses into prose, introducing the occasional iambic pentameter into her speeches until the end of the scene. Centurio, unwilling to help as he is, resolutely sticks to prose throughout the scene. This scene is not, of course, an exact parallel to the corresponding scene in All for the Better, but it does demonstrate the same flexible use of verse and prose.

We can also appreciate here the evolution of a dramatic idea. Francis Manning writes one speech in verse in his first known play, and this increases to eight in All for the Better. If we accept that A Tragi-Comedy is at least partly a play of his devising, then it is not difficult to see this last work as the logical conclusion of a dramatic device that he had been perfecting throughout his career as a playwright. The use of verse pervades the whole adaptation, the last act in particular is dominated by it, and, as far as this dramatic idea is concerned, here it reaches full maturity.

What, in conclusion, has been established about the authorship of A Tragi-Comedy? Very little can be said to have been proved beyond doubt, but it is probable that John Savage played an important part in preparing the two-volume work for publication. It is hard to see him as the chief adapter of the Celestina, however, since he seems to have no previous or subsequent experience in writing plays for dramatic presentation. Of the writers who are known to have collaborated with Savage during his literary career, only Manning seems a likely contender for authorship of the adaptation. In view of his previous close collaboration with Savage, his considerable experience in writing both plays and poetry, and above all the many similarities, some carrying more weight than others, between A Tragi-Comedy and his previous works for the stage, it does not seem to me necessary to go beyond Francis Manning and speculate, less convincingly, about any one of the hundreds of writers of one or more

plays of varying excellence, who, by virtue of having lived in the first decade of the eighteenth century, might also be considered as possible collaborators.

While I do not wish for a moment to imply that 'several Hands' could not equally include a third writer (if not more), there are several other factors that have emerged during the course of this study that are entirely consistent with my tentative conclusion that Francis Manning wrote a large part of A Tragi-Comedy. If, as is suggested by his commonplaces, factual errors and his rather wooden portrayal of Spanish characters in his plays, Manning was mostly unfamiliar with things Spanish, then this goes a long way to explaining why he relies on Mabbe's translation for his adaptation of the Celestina. Yet if the small number of discrepancies we find in collating the adaptation with The Spanish Bawd are not merely coincidences, then we must acknowledge that someone who knew Spanish, possibly Savage himself, added some corrections (or so he thought) by comparing the English text with the Spanish Tragicomedia. Furthermore, if Francis Manning was closely involved with the legal profession, as I suggested earlier in this chapter, then this more than accounts for the number of references in A Tragi-Comedy to lawyers and legal practice. If Savage and Manning did meet whilst living at the Inns of Court, then these frequent references, in which one can occasionally detect a note of nostalgia, may well have been prompted by the memories of the time of their first acquaintance, which this collaboration might well have evoked.

Whoever the adapters of the Celestina were, it is correct to say that none of them knew enough about Spain or its literary history to give the Tragicomedia its correct parentage or greatly enhance the original author's vivid portrayal of his own life and times. Nor should we expect them to do so; the true value of A Tragi-Comedy lies in its change of dress. It gave to English audiences a fair, if limited, idea of one of the greater works of Spanish literature, a representation that was easier for an eighteenth-century reader, bred on popular works, to assimilate, even though this necessitated presenting it in a somewhat modified form.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. DNB 1 [= Vol. 50], 340-1. I am grateful to Mr R.H.Harcourt Williams, librarian and archivist to the present Lord Salisbury, for supplementary information about John Savage from among the papers of the fifth earl, and for permission to use it in this study.

2. DNB, 1, 340; Mr Harcourt Williams could give me no idea when these travels were undertaken (private letter, dated 25 Oct. 1973).

3. A hitherto unknown work relating to John Savage in the British Library (11659.b.67.) is a parody of the Horatian verse epistle XVII entitled Horace to Scaeva, published in 1730. The parody which may just conceivably be by Savage himself, tells us much about his later life. By implication, it seems clear that he has been criticised for leaving his Hertfordshire parish too often, neglecting his duties there, in order to come to the metropolis to court the favour of his more wealthy friends. He apparently regrets not having secured a more prominent ecclesiastical position than the benefice of Clothall, and has been trying to secure a more influential post. It seems he was unsuccessful.

4. He is described as 'Mr Savage of the Inner-Temple' in the first volume of translations to which he contributed, viz., Miscellany Essa vol. ii (London, 1694), translated from the French of M. de St. Evremont.

5. Celestine or the Tragick-Comedie of Calisto and Melibea, ed. Guadalupe Martínez Lacalle (London: Tamesis, 1972). 'In the same year [1707], John Savage made a five-act play based on Mabbe's translation' (2).

6. Compare, for example, the prefatory material to his translation Brutes turned Criticks (1695) from the Italian of Mosoheni, and his Compleat History of Germany (1702).

7. His biographer in the DNB (1, 340), mentions that Savage contributed one poem on the death of George, Prince of Denmark, to an Oxford Collection of Verses (1708).

8. For further details about this enterprising and versatile literary figure, see Benjamin Boyce, Tom Brown of Facetious Memory, Harvard Studies in English, xxi (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P., 1939).

9. Shelved in the British Library at 721.d.12. See note 4, overleaf.

10. See The Term Catalogues, ed. E. Arber, 3 vols. (London 1906), iii,571.

11. DNB vii, 30.

12. Shelved in the British Library at 841.d.11. The Sham Lawyer is mentioned in The London Stage: Part I 1660-1700, ed. William van Lennep (Carbondale: S. Illinois U.P., 1965), 479.

13. DNB xv, 447.

14. Frederick Manning, Minister Plenipotentiary to the Grisons.

15. Since there are no published records of admissions to Inner Temple for this period, I am extremely grateful to Mr W.W.S. Breem, the Inner Temple librarian, for generously providing me with the relevant information (private letter, dated 16 May, 1974).

16. Shelved together in the British Library at 83.b.15., there is another copy of The Generous Choice at 644.h.67. Both plays are mentioned by The London Stage in Part I, 524 and Part II, 28.

17. The Comedy of Manners (London: Hutchinson, 1970), 127.

18. See the introduction to Vanbrugh's Relapse, ed. Bernard Harris (London: Ernest Benn, 1971).

CHAPTER VII

CAPTAIN JOHN STEVENS

After the coronation of James II in February 1685, Henry Hyde, second Earl of Clarendon, was appointed, first Lord Privy Seal, and then, in September, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. His swift rise to political prominence from the comparatively humble position of adviser to the Queen Dowager, a post he had held since 1662, is probably to be attributed less to his skills of diplomacy than to the marriage in secret of his sister, Anne, to the king, then Duke of York, in 1660. James appointed his brother-in-law to the governorship of Ireland in the hope that Clarendon would prove amenable to his intended Irish policy. But although Clarendon endeavoured to make piecemeal concessions to his sovereign's wish to appoint Roman Catholics to key military and administrative positions in Ireland, he was, as a Protestant, opposed to the government of Ireland for and by Roman Catholics. Thus he soon incurred the royal displeasure, and kept his post only until February 1687, when the Earl of Tyrconnel, commander-in-chief of His Majesty's forces in Ireland, took his place and he was recalled to London.

It is against this backcloth that we must view the increasingly frustrated attempts of the Earl of Clarendon to find posts for many of his personal staff at a time when his favour with the king was in a decline. He seems to have been a fair man, allowing no unjust discrimination to influence his efforts to find appointments for the

mixture of Catholics and Protestants among his servants. One such Catholic, a 'gentleman at large', was John Stevens, and there are several attempts to obtain a military posting for him, recorded in the latter part of Clarendon's correspondence from Ireland.[1] In October 1686 he appealed on Stevens' behalf to the Earl of Sunderland (Correspondence, ii, 45), presumably without success, and there is also a memorandum directed to Lord Rochester containing brief pen-portraits of Clarendon's servants. Stevens is here described as 'an honest, sober young fellow, and a pretty scholar' (i, Appendix VII, 653).

In November of the same year, Clarendon again wrote to Rochester, entrusting the safe delivery of the letter to Stevens himself:

> This bearer, Stevens, came over with me one of my gentlemen at large: he is a very honest young man; his father is a Page of the Back Stairs to the Queen Dowager, and did formerly wait upon my father at Madrid. I intended to have something done for him, but so little interest has a Lord-Lieutenant at present, that he can provide for nobody, which makes men think a little of themselves. His father has sent for him over, in hopes to get him into something there; if he have need of your help, let me beg you to assist him. I am sure he will deliver a letter safe to you, and therefore I will write of such things as are not fit to mention by the post. (ii, 64-5)

Besides learning several things about the character of John Stevens from this letter, we are told much about his father; he 'did formerly wait upon my father in Madrid'. Edward Hyde, the first and better-known Earl of Clarendon, seems to have made only one visit to Madrid. This was in November 1649, when he accompanied Lord Cottington on an unsuccessful embassy to obtain moral and financial support from the Spanish government to further the cause of their master, the future Charles II. Their mission met with a cool reception for a number of reasons, and the ambassadors were asked to leave Spain in December of

the following year. It is not clear from the second Earl's letter whether Stevens' father accompanied the first Earl to Spain or whether he was already resident there, nor where he was during the next ten years, but elsewhere the second Earl of Clarendon states that Stevens' father was page to the Queen Dowager 'from her first landing' (i, 653), so he must have returned to England before May 1662, when Princess Catherine of Portugal landed at Portsmouth for her marriage to Charles. In the service of the Portuguese princess, Stevens senior may well have had recourse as much to Spanish as to Portuguese, for Portugal was only now emerging from many years of subjugation as a Spanish territory. We are entitled to deduce, therefore, that he was, in all likelihood, versed in both tongues before he entered the service of Queen Catherine.

We possess no details of the early life of John Stevens, but he is twice described as a 'young man' and once as a 'young fellow' by the second Earl, in letters dated 1686; that is, more than thirty-six years after his father had lived in Madrid, and more than twenty-four years after the latter had become page to the Queen Dowager. Since it is unlikely that the young man that Clarendon describes is much more than twenty years of age, we may surmise that he was born when his father was already in the service of the queen, but it is impossible to be more precise.

However all this may be, John Stevens' knowledge of the Iberian languages must be attributed above all to his father's influence on his education. That this is so is confirmed by Stevens himself at the end of the preface to his Spanish dictionary:

> For my Knowledge in the Tongue, I was bred to it from my Infancy, and have ever endeavour'd to improve my Knowledge in it by reading, not only of Historians, but of Poets, Orators, Travellers, and other books of all sorts of Literature.[2]

But if Stevens ascribes his interest in the Spanish language to the encouragement of his parents, nowhere does he indicate whether he visited Spain during his early years. It is evident from his Journal of my Travels since the Revolution[3] that he visited Portugal. The later part of the Journal describes two years of the Jacobite Wars in Ireland, ending abruptly on July 12th, 1691 during the battle of Aughrim. Stevens noted in his diary five days earlier, the state of the weather on this particular day's march:

> This day was very remarkable, first for the violent scorching heat of the sun, which I then thought so excessive as to exceed what I felt in three years I lived in Portugal; but the reason might [be] because in that country I was never much exposed to it, whereas here I marched afoot without any better place to refresh in after all than a small soldier's tent. (Fol. 126^{b})

In his edition of the Journal, R.H. Murray infers from this that Stevens means us to understand that 'he served three years in the army in Portugal' (Introd., ix). In view of the fact that a more recent student of Stevens, Robert H. Williams, seems to have repeated this dogma without question,[4] it is as well to point out that Murray's interpretation is a highly improbable one. Studying the diarist's words carefully, such an interpretation does not strike me as consonant with the strong contrast that Stevens draws in this passage between his hardships as an enlisted soldier in Ireland and the nature of his life in Portugal. Such a view would at least be understandable, were there not the implication elsewhere that, prior

to his joining the Jacobite army, Stevens had precious little military experience. Even as he decides to enlist, he confesses his own misgivings in the early part of the Journal:

> yet I concluded in whatever capacity employed I might be useful, and doubted not but for the present my zeal would supply what was wanting in experience. (fol. 46[a])

It is probably more helpful to look to his father's long-standing service to the Queen Dowager for the circumstances surrounding John Stevens' visit to Portugal, if we may assume that he went to Portugal before his employment as 'gentleman at large' to the Earl of Clarendon.[5] If Queen Catherine ever sent his father on a special mission to her home country, John Stevens may well have accompanied him. The queen did not herself return to Portugal until 1692, some time after the death of her husband.

That Stevens spent much of his stay in the Portuguese capital is clear from the preface to his Ancient and Present State of Portugal. In his 'To the Reader' he mentions his visit to Portugal and, commenting on the description of Lisbon, he adds:

> I may in a great Measure call [it] my own, having liv'd there a considerable Time; tho' for fear of Mistakes I compar'd it with several Travellers that have spoke of it, and by their Help call'd to mind several things that had slipp'd my Observation.[6]

John Stevens' Journal suggests other details for his biography: that he spoke fluent French (fol. 116[a]), and that he does not consider himself to be Irish (fol. 114[b]), as two of his biographers suggest.[7] But there is no indication here, either, that he went to Spain before he published any of his translations. This will be important evidence when we attempt to establish a source for his description of Madrid in The Spanish Libertines.

What happened to John Stevens after Clarendon's unsuccessful attempt to find him a military post? We infer from his Journal that after delivering the letter to Lord Rochester in November 1686, he was not long without a job. He entered civil employment (possibly, since he was a convinced Jacobite, as a result of James II's policy of appointing Catholics to key administrative positions), and the outbreak of the Revolution and the flight of James to France in December 1688 found him resident in Welshpool, Montgomeryshire, collecting His Majesty's excise in Wales. The Journal describes in graphic detail his perilous escape to France through Protestant-held England, his voyage to Ireland and his enlistment in Lord Grand Priors' Regiment, and the hardships of a soldier's life during the struggle against the forces of William of Orange. After the last entry on Sunday, 12th July 1691, we hear nothing more of him until his first translation appears in print in 1695. From then on he invariably signs himself 'Captain Stevens'. Since he declares he is the most senior lieutenant in the regiment (fol. 82[a]), we may assume he gained promotion after the entries in the Journal.

In view of the bitter sectarian feelings on both sides, which the Jacobite Wars only served to aggravate, it is understating the case to say that, at the turn of the century, life for Roman Catholics who remained in England cannot have been easy. Mistrust festered among both victors and vanquished. Even the movements of such a celebrated English Catholic as Alexander Pope were curtailed by the legislation that such suspicion caused to be placed on the statute-books. Pope was obliged to move out of London in 1698, and successive

acts passed by the Protestant Parliament drove him further still from the metropolis. This for a man who thrived on the stimulus of London life was punishment indeed.[8]

While we can have no idea of the circumstances that John Stevens encountered as he began his new career as translator and editor, many of the hardships described by the editors of Kirk's Biographies of English Catholics must equally apply to him:

> The eighteenth century, then, was for English Catholics a time of depression, of lost hopes and discouragement ... No blood was shed after the Revolution, but the Penal Code, strengthened by new Statutes in 1695, 1699, 1715 and 1722 lay like a dead weight on those who held to the ancient faith. Under every kind of civil and social disability, they were excluded from public life and rendered powerless. (ix)

But if this was so, Stevens seems to have fared rather better than Pope. It seems he was not attainted and was able to settle in London.[9] Ralph Thoresby, the topographer and antiquary, mentions him a number of times in his Diary between 1719 and 1723, and this seems to confirm that Stevens was still living in London in 1723.[10]

In the thirty years before his death on October 27th 1726,[11] his literary output was prodigious. There were few periods in his life when he did not average at least one published work a year, and sometimes several more. Robert H. Williams produces convincing evidence for thinking that he may have visited Madrid during 1712 (146n). In the following decade he was occupied with a translation and abridgement of Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum, after which he published several supplementary volumes, including a similar treatise on Ireland, Monasticon Hibernicum (1722). After completing this mammoth task, he managed to publish only three more works before his death: a translation of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica (1723) and, in

1725, A new Spanish grammar and The Royal Treasury of England, the latter work being a history of taxation until his own times. Several more of his translations were published posthumously, and a number of unpublished manuscripts extant at his death have, with the exception of the Journal, since been lost.

It was during his early years as a translator that Captain Stevens' literary output was at its most prolific and varied. Apart from his New English and Spanish Dictionary (1706), and a History of Charles Vth (1703), the majority of his early translations are of two kinds. First, travel books and histories of foreign lands including books on Portugal (1698, 1705), Spain (1699, 1707), Bavaria (1706), and Persia, (1715); and on newly discovered continents, Portuguese Asia (1695) and the Americas (1702, 1709). For his histories of Portugal, he made good use of his contacts in the courts of the Portuguese monarchs. In adding to Manuel de Faria y Sousa's history of Portugal in 1698, Stevens makes reference to his sources in the introduction:

> Neither have I wanted information in many particulars touched in this Supplement, from Persons who were present and Eyewitnesses, to the Actions herein related.[12]

Three letters of his to Dr. Hans Sloane are preserved by the British Library.[13] They relate to the borrowing of certain travel books by Stevens himself and a 'Mr. Churchill'. This is almost certainly a reference to Awnsham Churchill, or his brother John, booksellers and stationers of considerable standing. It is likely that they helped Captain Stevens with an original venture; the publishing of a collection of travels in monthly parts, probably to offset the cost of expensive bindings. The whole collection was subsequently published in 1710 as one volume, though not by the Churchill brothers.[14]

Captain Stevens was also one of the first to contribute instalments of a novel for publishing in daily newspapers. Williams (pp. 146n, 154n, 161n) calls our attention to at least two novels in translation that Stevens serialised for the British Mercury during the years 1712-14.

The other main group of his early translations consists of works of literature. He revised Shelton's translation of Don Quixote (1700), and issued the first English translation of Avellaneda's apocryphal continuation (1705), he translated most of Quevedo's humorous works (1697, 1707), and, in the same year as the last of these, The Spanish Libertines.

One other problem that emerges unresolved from an examination of Stevens' life is his attitude to the works he translated. On the one hand, he felt the need to respond to the popular demand for works that offered diversion and enjoyment, and he chose his translations accordingly. This is evidenced by his comments on the works in his manuscript catalogue. He scrupulously avoids offering to the public translations of these Spanish works too taken up with religious matters. On the religious works of Quevedo, for instance, he makes remarks such as the following: 'Extraordinary devout & consequently unfit for English ... Not translated but well deserving it, if anything spiritual would be acceptable.'[15]

He does not, on the other hand, appear to have approved of the prevailing climate where morals and literary taste were concerned. In the preface to his translation of Pedro de Cieza's Seventeen Years Travels through Peru, he complains that he hardly dare hope for a

favourable reception for the work since:

> Scandal, Irreligion, Lewdness, and Ribaldry are supported by the greater Numbers; because deprav'd human Nature is proud of exposing the Faults of its fellow Creatures; Prophaness is look'd upon as Wit; Debauchery is not only reckoned Pardonable, but Genteel; and Scurrility suits the meaner Capacities, on whom more solid things are lost. (sig. 4^a)

It is difficult to know whether the pious horror expressed here is completely genuine. Judging from his zeal in supporting the Jacobite cause, and in completing the Monasticon Anglicanum, he was a devout Catholic. Yet, perhaps by virtue of this fact, it is hard not to draw certain parallels between English Catholics in the early eighteenth century and Jews under the threat of the Spanish Inquisition. Stevens may have needed to appear more puritan than the Puritans to ensure his good standing in a society dominated by hostile anti-Catholic policies. Seen in this light, Captain Stevens' reaction to his circumstances bears an unexpected similarity to that of the converso Fernando de Rojas. If Stephen Gilman is right to see the Christian exhortations to piety and virtue at the end of the Celestina as conventional and insincere utterances which Rojas was forced to add in deference to his difficult circumstances and against his true wishes,[16] then it is not unlikely that Stevens felt the same necessity to compromise imposed upon himself. These contradictions in what he writes will occupy our attention again when we look at the reworking of the Celestina.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

1. Henry Hyde, Second Earl of Clarendon, Correspondence, ed. S.W. Singer, 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1828). Vol. i: Appendix VII (page 653). Vol. ii: letter to the Earl of Sunderland from Dublin Castle, dated Oct. 23rd 1686 (page 45); two letters to his brother the Earl of Rochester from Dublin Castle, dated Nov. 17th and 19th 1686 (pages 64-5 and 69).

2. A New Spanish and English Dictionary (London, 1706), sig.a^{b}.

3. British Library MS. Add.36296. This has been edited in The Journal of John Stevens, ed. R.H. Murray (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912).

4. Robert H. Williams, "A Manuscript Document on the Translations from Spanish by Captain John Stevens," RLC, xvi (1936), 144-66. 'He served three years with the army in Portugal' (146).

5. In his introduction to the Journal, Murray points out that the diary 'cannot have been kept from day to day, but has been written up from notes that have been so kept' (xxxiv). This being the case, the barest suspicion remains that, if he wrote up the Journal after beginning to publish his work in London in 1695, he may be referring in the passage on fol. 126^{b} to his experiences in Portugal after the Irish Wars. It is understandable that he would omit to mention in his Journal that his visit to Portugal took place after his military service in Ireland, for such an

admission would seriously affect the authenticity of a day-to-day account. All this would seem unnecessarily far-fetched were it not for two uncomfortable facts. In the catalogue of the Warburton Library a number of Stevens' manuscripts are said to have been sold in 1759 as lots 318-27. Lot 327 reads 'A Journal of all my Travels since I left London to follow our ... most gracious Sovereign James II - A Journal of my Voyage from London to Lisbon etc. 4to.' (quoted in John Kirk, Biographies of English Catholics in the 18th Century, ed. J.H. Pollen and E. Burton, (London, 1909), s.v. 'Cuthbert Constable', page 54). Both these manuscripts have since been lost. Now, these two manuscripts may be a job-lot, and therefore have no necessary connection with each other; but, equally, they may be in chronological sequence. The other possibly related fact that brings the date of his visit to Portugal into question is that the Queen Dowager began her return journey by land to Portugal in March 1692, some considerable time after the death of her husband Charles in February 1685. If Stevens made the journey in her entourage he could still have been in Portugal for the three years stated and have returned to England in 1695. It may be significant that he dedicated his first translation The Portuguese Asia to 'Catherine, Queen Dowager of England'. All this would at least help to explain what he did between fighting the unsuccessful campaign in Ireland and his reappearance in London in 1695.

6. The Ancient and Present State of Portugal By a Gentleman who Resided some Years in that Country. (London, 1705), a^{a-b}.

7. DNB, liv, 231; Williams, 146. The relevant passages in the Journal are as follows: 'The engineers being all French and not speaking any English such officers were made choice of to attend the work as could speak French, of which number I was one, and continued at the work daily ...' (fols. 115^{b}-16^{a}; Murray, 195). Earlier in the Journal, attempting to assure the reader of his impartiality as an observer, Stevens says 'Let not any mistake and think I either speak out of affection or deliver what I know not; for the first I am no Irishman to be any way biased, and for the other part I received not what I write by hearsay but was an eyewitness' (fol. 114^{b}; Murray, 193). The fact that he warrants an entry in Kirk's Biographies of English Catholics (219, s.v. 'John Stephens') is also not without its significance.

8. See Pat Rogers, "Pope and the Social Scene", in Writers and their Background: Alexander Pope, ed. Peter Dixon, (London: Bell, 1972), 101-142, at pp. 101-105; Chester Chapin, "Alexander Pope: Erasmian Catholic," Eighteenth-Century Studies, vi (1973), 411-430.

9. DNB, liv, 231.

10. Diary of Ralph Thoresby F.R.S. 1677-1724 ed. Rev. Joseph Hunter, 2 vols. (London: Colburn & Bentley, 1830). See entries in vol. ii for Nov. 6th 1719; Jan. 7th 1721; April 20th 1722; and March 11th, April 8th, 25th, May 18th and Sept. 5th of 1723.

11. Thus the DNB, following the chronological diary of the Historical Register for 1726; Murray has October 26th 1726 (Intro., x).

12. History of Portugal Written in Spanish by Emanuel de Faria y Sousa. Translated and carried down to this present year by Captain John Stevens. (London, 1698), sig. a4[a].

13. Sloane MSS. 4041 (fol. 192) dated Aug. 11th 1708; 4043 (fol. 23) dated Jan. 16th 171½ (i.e. 1712, not 1715 as Williams (145n) suggests); 4061 (fol. 20) undated, but on internal evidence fairly soon after the letter of Jan. 1712.

14. See R.M. Wiles, Serial Publications in England Before 1750 (Cambridge: University Press, 1957), 87.

15. Sloane MS. 3093 (fol. 3[b]); Williams, 152.

16. See Stephen Gilman, The Spain of Fernando de Rojas (Princeton: University Press, 1972), particularly Chapter II.

CHAPTER VIII

SOURCES OF

THE BAWD OF MADRID

Given that Captain Stevens' authorship of The Bawd of Madrid and the other three pieces in The Spanish Libertines is not open to serious doubt, some of the preliminary problems that were encountered in examining the primary sources of the dramatised adaptation, A Tragi-Comedy, will not present the same difficulties here. From the biographical sketch of Captain Stevens, we have seen that he was acquainted with the Spanish language from an early age and that his knowledge was therefore considerable. If his many translations from Spanish are not in themselves sufficient proof of this, then surely his ability to prepare for publication in 1706 a Spanish dictionary better than any previous attempt, must be considered as such. The preface states that, 'the Number of Words in this beyond any other Dictionary is very great' and the dictionary contains a short history of the origins of the language, and brief notes on Gothic, Arabic and French influences.[1]

We are further helped in our search for the primary sources of Stevens' adaptation by the fragmentary manuscript of what seems to be a catalogue of his own library, found by Robert H. Williams in the Sloane Collection of the British Library.[2] The manuscript seems to be only a partial catalogue, but in the list headed 'Spanish Octaves' there is the following entry:

> Celestina/
> Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea, compuesta por el Bachiller/ Fernando de Rojas de la Puebla de Montalvan. The Spanish is old yet/ the matter is diverting, the preposterous as a Play. I have made an/ English Tale of it, call'd The Bawd of Madrid, printed in the Book/ Entitled, The Spanish Libertines. That it was writ by the aforesaid/ Author appears, by the first Letters of a Copy of Verses before the said/ Work, which put together make out the name as above./ (fol.9[a])

It seems beyond question, then, that Captain Stevens had a copy of the Tragicomedia. We might preclude any further source-hunting if we take him at his word, especially since those who knew him considered him an honest man, and we accept his statement that he made his adaptation from the copy of the Tragicomedia in his possession. But if we profit from our experience in looking at the sources for The Life of Guzman and the other adaptation, we know that a translator does not always mention all (or even any) of the versions he has consulted for his own rendering. To establish which version of the Celestina provides the main basis for The Bawd of Madrid, and whether Captain Stevens consulted any other versions, I propose to collate this adaptation with the Spanish Tragicomedia and Mabbe's Spanish Bawd, and subject the findings to a scrutiny similar to that undertaken with A Tragi-Comedy.[3]

The problem one encounters immediately, possibly more acutely than in the dramatized adaptation, is that of coincidence. If both Mabbe and Stevens were working with a Spanish text in front of them, then, despite the difference between their styles of translation, it is scarcely to be wondered at if there are repeated similarities of words and phrasing between the two versions, especially where Stevens is rendering passages of dialogue into English without altering their formal appearance.

And this is often precisely what we find. Such similarities occur throughout the adaptation, but it should be added immediately that in no case do these similarities constitute an identical sequence continuing for as much as a sentence or even a line. The pattern is rather that of isolated words and phrases. Here are three such examples.

In Act X of the Tragicomedia Celestina is spelling out to Melibea the nature of her illness, which is, of course, love:

> Celestina.-Es un fuego escondido, una agradable llaga, un sabroso veneno, una dulce amargura, una delectable dolencia, un alegre tormento, una dulce y fiera herida, una blanda muerte. (Tragicomedia, 158-9)
>
> -IT IS A CONCEALED FIRE; A PLEASING WOUND; A SAVOURY POISON; A SWEET BITTERNESS; A DELIGHTFUL GRIEF; A CHEERFUL TORMENT; A SWEET, YET CRUEL HURT; AND A GENTLE DEATH. (The Spanish Bawd, 160)
>
> -a Hidden Flame; a Pleasing Wound; a Savoury Poison; an Agreeable Bitterness; a Delightful Disease; a Sweet Torment; and an Easie Death. (The Bawd of Madrid, 121)

If Mabbe had been the basis for Stevens' translation here, one might expect a much stronger resemblance than we actually have, in view of the repetition of noun phrases and the fairly simple syntactical structure. In Celestina's first conversation with Melibea in Act IV of the Tragicomedia, there is a somewhat similar example, Celestina explains to the young noblewoman some of the disadvantages of being rich:

> Celestina.-Mi amigo no será simulado y el del rico sí. Yo soy querida por mi persona; el rico por su hacienda. (91)
>
> MY FRIEND WILL NOT DISSEMBLE WITH ME, BUT THE RICH MAN'S WILL WITH HIM: I AM LOVED FOR MINE OWN SAKE, THE RICH MAN FOR HIS WEALTH'S SAKE. (70)

> My Friend will not Dissemble with me; but a Rich Man's will. I am Belov'd for my own Sake; and a Rich Man for his Wealth. (84)

Here again, the similarities between the two English versions are obvious, but they are not so sustained or noticeably divergent from the Spanish original that we can postulate a convincing borrowing. The third example has already occurred in our discussion of the sources for A Tragi-Comedy. In The Bawd of Madrid, Stevens describes Celestina's first entry into Melibea's house in his own words, so most of Lucrecia's greeting is absorbed into the narrative. Stevens does, however, retain one phrase from Lucretia's words:

> They Saluted, and Celestina being ask'd, What brought her thither; she pretended it was to visit her Lady. (83)

In the original Spanish, Lucrecia's question was '¿Cuál Dios te traje por estos barrios no acostumbrados?' (88), which Mabbe expands considerably in his version:

> WHAT WIND, I TROW, DRIVES YOU THIS WAY? I DO NOT REMEMBER THAT I HAVE SEEN YOU IN THESE PARTS THIS MANY A DAY. WHAT ACCIDENT HATH BROUGHT YOU HITHER? (65)

The similarity between the form of Lucrecia's question that Stevens uses and the last phrase of Mabbe's version is again worth remarking upon, though it is conceivable that he could equally well have used the Spanish text.

When Stevens is transposing his source into the narrative mode, as in this last example, it is especially difficult to tell which version he is using, and the debt to Mabbe is more difficult to prove. Yet it is not impossible that he consulted Mabbe at this point. There are two other similarities of a different nature which are striking enough to induce us to believe that Stevens did consult

The Spanish Bawd, and may have used Mabbe's translation in at least the following two cases.

In Act I of the Tragicomedia Celestina, anxious to win over Pármeno by any means she can, tells him about the money his parents left for him in her safe keeping:

> Celestina.-Hijo, bien sabes cómo tu madre, que Dios haya, te me dio viviendo tu padre. El cual, como de mí te fuiste, con otra ansia no sino con la incertidumbre de tu vida y persona. Por la cual ausencia algunos años de su vejez sufrió angustiosa y cuidadosa vida. Y al tiempo que de ella pasó, envió por mí y en su secreto te me encargó y me dijo ... que ... te descubriese adónde dejó encerrada tal copia de oro y plata, que basta mas que la renta de tu amo Calisto. (67-8)

The interpretation of who told Celestina this secret depends on the phrase 'el cual' in the second line; I believe Rojas is referring, in the second half of the paragraph, to Pármeno's father. But both Mabbe and Stevens are under the impression that Celestina is referring to the death of Claudina and that Celestina acquired the secret from her:

> -AND WHEN THE TIME CAME THAT SHE WAS TO LEAVE THIS WORLD, SHE SENT FOR ME, AND IN SECRET RECOMMENDED THEE UNTO ME. (37)
>
> -She gave me Charge of you at her Death, tho' you like a Graceless Imp, ran away from me. (Chap. II,78)

Rojas later confirms that Celestina is referring to Pármeno's father in this passage (though it may be that Rojas did not write it himself), by having Pármeno say to Celestina in Act VII, because of his eagerness to win Areúsa, 'Ofrécele cuanto mi padre te dejó para mí' (131). When we turn to the English versions, we notice that Mabbe seems unaware of his earlier error and translates this phrase, in blithe ignorance

of the inconsistency, 'OFFER HER ALL THAT WHICH MY FATHER LEFT WITH YOU FOR ME' (123). Stevens, on the other hand, covers up for his earlier mistake by slightly changing the phrase 'Offer her all my Mother left in your Custody for me' (102). There are two likely reasons why he may have perpetuated this mistranslation. He may have been unable to correct the error in chapter II if he had already sent that part of the manuscript to the printers. Secondly, he may have deliberately omitted Pármeno's father from his tale for the sake of simplicity or because it may have struck him as improbable that, unlike Celestina, Claudina had a husband, and a wealthy one at that.

If Stevens found this first passage difficult to construe, then he may have consulted Mabbe for a second opinion, and regretted his mistake later. On the other hand, the omission of Claudina's husband may be part of a deliberate policy of the adapter to simplify the story, and Stevens need not have consulted Mabbe at all at this point.

In the other case where a borrowing from Mabbe is by no means out of the question, Stevens seems unable to decide which is the better of two renderings. The phrase in question is Celestina's reply in Act IV to Melibea's furious demand to know what Calisto might require from her:

> Celestina.-Una oración, señora, que le dijeron que sabías de Santa Apolonia para el dolor de las muelas. (97)

Mabbe, as is his usual practice, omits the Christian reference, and Stevens has both:

> -MARRY, A CERTAIN CHARM, MADAME, WHICH, AS HE IS INFORMED BY MANY OF HIS GOOD FRIENDS, YOUR LADYSHIP HATH, WHICH CURETH THE TOOTH-ACHE. (78)

> -A Prayer, Madam, or a Charm, or some other thing he was told you had against the Tooth-Ach [sic]. (88)

Having given these examples, I must emphasize that the last two cited are highly exceptional. Most of the evidence is of the first kind, where it is extremely difficult to say whether the translation by Mabbe was consulted or not.

Nonetheless, I think it is possible to say which of the two versions was used as the basis of the adaptation. As in the case of the other adaptation, the points at which Mabbe's translation differs substantially from the original text must be carefully compared with The Bawd of Madrid for signs of divergence. I shall look at three kinds of differences between Mabbe and his source: points at which he omits material from the Tragicomedia for one reason or another, mostly to spare what he considers the finer sensibilities of his readers; the replacement of unseemly religious references with those he considers more suitable; and the third kind, which involves mistranslation and forms of circumlocution not found in these first two groups.

There is one act of the Tragicomedia in particular from which Mabbe omits a great deal of dialogue: the seduction of the not altogether unwilling Areúsa in Act VII.[4] This is not always because he is afraid of offending the sensibilities of his reader, for he also censors the words of Celestina if she becomes too prolix, but it is so in the main. In each case, however, Stevens (who is at this point using dialogue again) ignores all these omissions and translates the Spanish text, making his own excisions which have no relationship whatsoever to those of Mabbe. The example given here concerns an occasion on which Mabbe does seem to forego translation for modesty's sake:

Celestina [to Pármeno].-Llégate acá, negligente, vergonzoso, que quiero ver para cuánto eres, ante que me vaya. Retózala en esta cama. (131)

-COME HITHER, MODESTY. COME HITHER, YOU BASHFUL FOOL. (123)

-Come hither you backward Shame-fac'd Ignoramus, I am resolv'd to see what Metal you are made of before I go. Touze her in the Bed. (103)

I shall deal with Captain Stevens' treatment of religious references more fully in the chapter on the reworking of the Celestina. Suffice it to say at this juncture that he does not attempt to make such sweeping religious reforms as does Mabbe. Where Mabbe substitutes 'myrtle-grove' for 'la Magdalena' Stevens invariably confines himself to 'church',[5] and changes or omits only the religious allusions of unmistakeably Roman Catholic origin. He includes Celestina's use of a Dominical saying in Act IV, which Mabbe considers quite unacceptable (72), though he tones down some of the false piety with which the original words are uttered:

Celestina.-¿Y no sabes que por la divina boca fue dicho, contra aquel infernal tentador, que no sólo de pan viviremos? (93)

-but don't you know it is said by Truth itself, That Man shall not live by Bread alone. (85)

Stevens has nothing against anti-clerical satire, either, though he does make some slight changes to the text of the following description by Celestina which comes from Act IX, the significance of which will be discussed later:

Celestina.-Pues servidores, ¿no tenía por su causa de ellas? Caballeros viejos [y] mozos, abades de todas dignidades desde obispos hasta sacristanes. En entrando por la iglesia, veía derrocar bonetes en mi honor, como si yo fuera una duquesa. (151)

> -I HAD SERVANTS ENOUGH. WHY, YOUR NOBLEMAN, YOUR KNIGHTS, YOUR OLD MEN, YOUR YOUNG MEN, YOUR LEARNED MEN, MEN OF ALL SORTS AND DIGNITIES, FROM THE HIGHEST TO THE LOWEST, WHY, THEY WERE ALL AT MY SERVICE; AND WHEN I CAME TO A FEAST, MY FOOT WAS NO SOONER IN, BUT I HAD PRESENTLY AS MANY BONNETS VAILED UNTO ME AS IF I HAD BEEN A DUCHESS. (151)

> -For their Sakes I had Servants of all sorts, Gentleman, Tradesmen, Old and Young, Laity and Clergy, from the Bishop to the Sexton. When I came into the Church, I had as many Bows, as if I were a Dutchess. (116)

If John Stevens had consulted <u>The Spanish Bawd</u> constantly, as he carried out his reworking of the <u>Celestina</u>, we might expect him to crosscheck the accuracy of his own translation by reference to what Mabbe had written. On the one hand, two examples of mistranslation by Mabbe in the first act of his version seem to show conclusively not only that Stevens does not copy Mabbe's rendering slavishly, but also that he shows no hesitation in preferring his own rendering of a difficult phrase to that of Mabbe.

In the opening dialogue of the <u>Tragicomedia</u>, Melibea refers in her rebuke of Calisto to his ears, which he considers fortunate because of what he has just heard her say. She uses a somewhat elliptical phrase characteristic of the author:

> Melibea.-Más desaventuradas de que me acabes de oir. (46)

Mabbe gets this quite wrong:

> -BUT, UNFORTUNATE, BY THAT TIME THOU HAST HEARD THY DOOM. (10)

It is not clear what 'time' Melibea - and Mabbe - are referring to here. Stevens, not often one to content himself with a purely literal rendering, comes out with the following version:

-You may, with better reason éxclaim, most unhappy
Creature, when you have heard me out. (75)

This version is not only less awkward than Mabbe's attempt, it also seems far closer to the essential idea of a rather difficult Spanish phrase.

The other unmistakeable mistranslation perpetrated by Mabbe occurs in Calisto's confession of his malady to Sempronio. To move the subject away from his own weakness on that account, Sempronio has been gleefully pointing out to his master the manifold wiles and inherent perversities of womankind. He describes their inexplicable changes of mood and attitude, and concludes thus:

-Ensáñanse presto, apacíguanse luego; quieren que
adevinen lo que quieren. (53)

Mabbe translates this last phrase:

-WHATSOEVER HER WILL DIVINES, THAT MUST BE EFFECTED. (17)

It would appear that 'divines' is a literal translation of 'adevinen' used in the sense of 'implies' or 'decrees', and he seems to miss the point entirely. Once again Stevens translates well, if freely:

-to carry themselves so in their Actions, as if Men
were bound to divine at their Meanings. (76)

I would not wish to give the impression from this that Stevens never mistranslates. Perhaps the most convincing example of the adapter's not consulting Mabbe's translation constantly, is one of his own blunders. This occurs in Celestina's celebrated disquisition on the properties of wine in Act IX:

Celestina.-[el vino] sostiene sin heder en la mar, lo cual
no hace el agua. (144)

-THIS MAY YOU KEEP LONG AT SEA WITHOUT STINKING;
SO CAN YOU NOT WATER. (141)

-[This] swims upon Water. (110)

While what Stevens says may actually be true, he is not translating the Spanish accurately, perhaps being led astray by the verb 'sostiene'.

The case I have presented for the primary sources of The Bawd of Madrid is not intended to be a clear-cut one. It cannot be proved that Captain Stevens never consulted Mabbe's version, though I think I have shown good reasons, above all in the last example, for believing that The Spanish Bawd is not for Stevens a work of reference that he constantly consults. It is not likely, either, that Stevens used material from the sixteenth-century Interlude, any of the Celestinesque works in Spanish, or any of the other translations of the Celestina. There is, at any rate, no indication in The Bawd of Madrid that Stevens consulted any of these in his reworking of the Tragicomedia.

The use of the Alnwick manuscript of Mabbe's translation can be discounted for much the same reasons that I put forward against its being used in the making of A Tragi-Comedy. The most persuasive argument against its use is that it is unlikely to have been accessible to the general public, so it is far more probable that, if Stevens had a copy of Mabbe's translation, it would be the 1631 published edition that he possessed. Secondly, the manuscript is an incomplete version of Mabbe's translation. Since many of the passages that appear both in The Spanish Bawd and The Bawd of Madrid are omitted in the Alnwick manuscript, we can safely say that the incomplete version cannot be the basis for Stevens' adaptation. A few examples of these omissions may

illustrate this assertion. The manuscript omits the part of Areúsa's speech in Act IX where she lists the insults that serving-maids are subjected to by their mistresses (Martínez Lacalle, 211). Both Mabbe (148) and Stevens (115) keep this passage in their versions. The manuscript also deletes Pármeno's invitation to Areúsa to dine with him at Celestina's house (Martínez Lacalle, 200). Mabbe later reintroduces this offer in his final version (129), and Stevens also describes the same invitation in his own words (106). There are occasions when the Alnwick manuscript is closer to the Tragicomedia than to The Spanish Bawd. For instance, the manuscript faithfully translates the reference to Calisto's hawk in the rubric to Act I (Martínez Lacalle, 119), which Mabbe omits in his final version (9); Mabbe also changes the references to 'la Magdalena' for 'myrtle-grove', yet in each case, the manuscript has 'Saint Marie Magdalen'. Yet when we turn to Stevens' adaptation, there does not seem to be a single occasion when he is influenced by the manuscript, even at the points where it is closer to the meaning of the Spanish text than to The Spanish Bawd. For instance, he invariably translates 'la Magdalena' as 'church' (see note 5), and there is not one instance where he seems to be using the manuscript version. Even apart from its inaccessibility, it does not seem that Stevens even knew of the existence of the Alnwick manuscript.

SOURCES FOR THE DESCRIPTION OF MADRID

Were the name of Celestina not attached to the title The Bawd of Madrid at the front of the volume, the reader might well pass his eyes over most of the first chapter before discovering that the adaptation had anything to do with the Spanish work of that name, for the version composed by Captain Stevens begins with a lengthy and detailed description of Madrid. What is not clear, however, is whether Stevens genuinely believed that Fernando de Rojas had Madrid in mind as the locale of his work, despite internal evidence in the Tragicomedia to the contrary, or whether, as is more likely, he felt that no other Spanish city would be so immediately familiar to his English readers (tacitly reinforcing this choice of location, perhaps, with the justification that there was nobody who could say for certain where the bawd had lived her life). It is true that A Tragi-Comedy is set in Valencia(see sig. Cc3^{b}), a locale that is consonant with Melibea's reference to ships in Act XX of the Tragicomedia(227), but this is unlikely to have been more than convenient guesswork on the part of the dramatists; and, in any case, neither adaptation includes this reference to ships.

In the sketch of how John Stevens is likely to have spent his early life, I maintained that there is no firm evidence to support the belief that he visited Madrid before 1707, and if this is the case, the description of the capital is not his own eyewitness account. We know that he was an inveterate collector of foreign literature, of travel-books in particular, from the manuscript catalogue of his library unearthed by

Robert H. Williams. Williams notes that 'Internal evidence indicates that the main part of the manuscript was written between 1707 and 1709' (144n). This document, then, was mostly compiled after the writing of The Spanish Libertines, so we are fortunate to have a slightly earlier record of the books to which Stevens had access (and some of which may come from his own library) during this period, which I shall examine first.

I have already described the New Spanish and English Dictionary that Stevens completed in 1706. Impressive in size and scope, it is unquestionably the fruit of many years' labour, and this impression is confirmed in the prefatory material by 'A Catalogue of Authors from whom this Dictionary is collected'- a formidable list of works and authors on two pages in double columns(sig.$A2^{a-b}$). As might be expected, the Tragicomedia is listed, together with many learned treatises and travel-books about Spain. Only one of these, described here as 'Poblaciones de España por Rodrigo Mendez Sylva. Fol.'(sig.$A2^{a}$), merits our close attention. There are two editions of this work in the British Library: the first edition, published in 1645, and a corrected edition of 1675.[6] The preamble on the title-page invites us to believe that the work is much grander than the entry in the Dictionary leads us to expect: 'Poblacion general de España. Sus trofeos, blasones y conquistas heroicas, descripciones agradables, grandezas notables, excelencias gloriosas [...etc...] por Rodrigo Mendez Silva coronista destos reynos'. After a general description of Spain, and of the kingdoms of Castile and León, Mendez Silva goes on to describe the cities and large towns of these kingdoms, apparently in order of size and importance. Accordingly, the first and longest description is devoted

to 'la muy antigua, noble y coronada villa de Madrid' and comprises chapter III(fol.6^b-7^b). Mendez Silva is not - one might infer from his expansive title-page - much given to brevity and terseness of description, but I shall, nonetheless, collate the pertinent passages of his description of Madrid with that of Captain Stevens, to offer some idea of what the translator takes from his source, and what he adds from elsewhere.

Esta la insigne villa de Madrid plantada ên las vmbrosas margenes del celebrado Mançanares, participantes aguas de agradables recreos, divirtiendo liquidas corrientes para isletas frondosas, lunares que hermosean, si no profundos, espaciosos cristales: bella colocacion, sublime estremo de montes; cuyos elogios si reducirse a numero quisieran, cortos se exageraran, y exagerados agravios padecieran. Ilustre cabeça, Corte de la mas estendida Monarquia, dilatado Imperio, que conoce el mundo: silla de sus Catolicos Reyes, patria de tantos Principes, hiema, y centro de toda España, donde igualmente se compiten lo jarifo del brio, lo bizarro de la gala, ostentiva opulencia, discreto cortejo, y politico agassajo. No se conoce cielo mas benevolo, mas apacible clima, influxo mas favorable, con que sobresalen hermosos rostros, disposiciones gallardas, lucidos ingenios, coraçones valientes, y generosos animos. Entre delicadas aguas, sutiles ayres, terreno fertil, trofeos de Ceres, triunfos de Baco, glorias de Minerva, estrados de Amaltea, y tapetes de Flora. Adornanla quatrocientas calles, catorze plaças,

The Renowned Town of Madrid, which has ever refus'd to admit of the Title of a City, lest any other should contend with it for Superority; chusing rather to be the first Town, than the second City in the World, is Seated on the Banks of the much Celebrated River Manzanares, which, tho' not deep, spreads it self abroad, forming several Delightful small Islands, and Watering the pleasant Fields and Meadows, where all sorts of Persons are Diverted in the Cool Summer Evenings.

This is the Capital, or Court of the mighty Monarchy of Spain; the Residence of its Kings; the Center, or Heart of the Kingdom, the Resort of Gallant Men; the Assembly of Beautiful Ladies; and the Mirror of Wit; of Discretion, and of Curtesie. The Serene Temperature of the Air is such, that, not feeling the Scorching Heats,/68/nor the Rigid Colds of other parts, it produces all the Noble Qualities belonging to the Male, and all the Charming Perfections in the Female Sex.

The Soil is so Rich, that it seems to be the Garden of Ceres; the Store-House of Bacchus, and the Granary of Flora. This Delicious Place contains 400 Streets, 14 Squares, or Market-Places,

diez y ocho Parroquias, sin muchos Divinos Santuarios de rica pompa, altissima contemplacion: cincuenta y siete Conventos de Frayles, y Monjas; en ellos el del Serafico Padre San Francisco, fabrica suya año 1214. como Santo Domingo el desus Religiosas: Veinte y dos Hospitales, alvergues, y recogimientos, especialmente el General, nombradissimo hospicio, religiosa hermandad, comun amparo de todas Naciones, en quien de ordinario se computan quinientos enfermos, aviendose visto mil alguna vez, que ministran casi cien personas, rentando 30000 ducados, 12000 lucidas casas, con pocos nativos, ocupadas de mas de 60000 vezinos; sobervios edificios, soberanos Tẽplos, sublimes torres, y vistosos chapiteles. Celebrase la magestuosa puente Segoviana, obra de Felipe Segundo, año 1584. a costa de 200000 ducados. Plaça mayor de las abastecidas en Europa. que con diversidad de regalos a todos tiempos esplendidamente satisfaze al insaciable, y apetitoso gusto; labrada año 1617. acabada 619[sic] imitando la de Valladolid en quatro correspondientes lienços, por longitud 436.pies, latitud 334. circunferencia 1540. aportalada sobre robustos pilares, que sustẽtan 136.casas, 615 ventanas, otros tantos valcones anivelados, y compuestos, habitada de 3700. moradores, hermoso teatro para fiestas publicas, capaz de 50000 mil personas.

El sumptuoso alcaçar de su Magestad, vnica casa de Campo, Real Palacio, recreo fastuoso del Buen Retiro, prodigiosa inven-/7ª/cion...en quien abreviados mares de agua por dilatados

18 Parishes,

58 Monasteries of Fryars and Nuns, besides a vast Number of Chappels, which, elsewhere, for their Wealth, might be reckond as Churches;

22 Hospitals, and among them, that they call the General Hospital, which commonly entertains 500 Sick Persons, and sometimes 1000; attended by near 100 Servants; and its constant Revenue 30000 Ducats, besides all Charities bestow'd on it. The Houses in Madrid are about 12000 of the better sort, without reckoning the meaner in the Suburbs and By-Parts, not worthy to be mention'd with these. The Bridge call'd Segovia is Majestick, Built by King Philip the Second, and cost 200000 Ducats. The Great Market-Place abounding in all that the Appetite can wish, is Square,

436 Foot in length, and 334 in breadth, all the sides of it exactly Uniform, with Walks all about under the Houses, supported by Stately Pillars, those being in Number 136, Inhabited by 3700 Persons, with 615 Windows, adorn'd with the same Number of Curious Balconies. This is the Place for all Publick Shows and Sports, and capable of containing 50000 Spectators. The King's Palace Built without the Town, which has now follow'd and almost joyn'd it, is one of the Noble Structures of the Universe, scarce yielding to any but the Escurial;

estanques, sin embidia de mayores golfos, maritimas ondas emulan. Florestas, huertas, y jardines son excessos ■ de sutil arquitectura ...Dividelo de el bullicio popular el vistoso Prado...Aqui es el concurso de noble, y lustrosa cavalleria, la marea del aura Cortesana in brillantes coches, quando Febo inclinando el luminoso farol se aparta de nuestro emisferio... Frequentan esta Republica multitud de moradores, y varias gentes, qie se halla gastar al año 500000 carneros...12000 vacas, 60000 cabritos, 10000 terneras, 13000 cabeças de cerda, 90000 arrobas de azeite, 80000 de vino cada mes, sin lo ocultado: inmensa copia de caça, y aves domesticas.

(Población, fols.6^b-7^a)

and adorn'd with Delicious Gardens, Water'd by Vast Ponds and Delightful Canals. Next it is the Perado, the usual Walking-Place of the Common-Sort, and where all the Better-Sort in their Coaches take the Air.

The Common Yearly Expence of Flesh in this Town, taken from the Books of the /69/Duty paid at Entrance, is 500000 Sheep, 12000 Black Cattle, 60000 Kids, 10000 Calves, 13000 Swine; besides all that Steals the Excise, and an Infinite Quantity of Wild and Tame Fowl.

(The Bawd of Madrid, 67-9)

From a close comparison of these two passages we can see that Captain Stevens' debt to Mendez Silva is, apart from a small number of phrases, quite overwhelming.

Before I proceed to comment on these few differences, it is as well to note that the Población owes a partial debt to an earlier description of Madrid in the Antigüedad de Madrid of Gerónimo de Quintana, published in 1629.[7] In this rather disorganized work, Quintana purports to give a general history of the capital, but one notices a disproportionate emphasis on ecclesiastical matters. One direct borrowing is the first part of the Antigüedad's title, which Mendez Silva uses as the heading for the chapter on Madrid. He also borrows the phrase'hiema, y centro de toda España' (Antigüedad, fol.1^a). But apart from such occasional borrowings, and the fact that the Población repeats many of the notable sights of the capital that Quintana had described previously, it is clear that Mendez Silva drew

upon other sources. Amongst other differences, there are discrepancies in the dimensions given by each author for the Plaza Mayor,[8] and Quintana has no record of the number of livestock in his account.

This digression is pertinent to our consideration of Stevens' description of Madrid because he had in his possession a copy of Quintana's Antigüedad.[9] While Stevens excises the more extravagant details of Mendez Silva's description, there are a number of phrases that are not inspired by the Población. Some of these details, it is true, are likely to be instances in which the translator has used his own imagination, of the information of his father of friends who had visited the capital of Spain.[10] But in the two examples that follow, Stevens is equally likely to have used Quintana's version(a broken line indicates the phrases in The Bawd of Madrid not apparently inspired by the Población):

the much Celebrated River Manzanares, which, tho' not deep, spreads itself abroad.(67)	Fertiliza y baña este sitio el Rio Mançanares, que si bien no es caudaloso, es apacible, sin perjuyzio, y agradable. (Antigüedad, fol.2[b])
The Great Market-Place ... is Square ...with Walks all about under the Houses, supported by Stately Pillars.(68)	En todo el ambito de la plaça ay sus soportales capazes de ancho y alto para el passo de la gente.(Antigüedad, fol.375[a])

Whether Captain Stevens was aware that the action of the Tragicomedia did not take place in Madrid may be irrelevant. I shall suggest in subsequent chapters that Stevens had his own very good reasons for choosing Madrid. It may be that he considered the capital to be the Spanish city most familiar to his English readers. What is perhaps a more significant reason for choosing Madrid concerns Stevens' didactic purpose in writing the adaptation

of the Celestina. In the paragraph that links the description of the Spanish capital with the introduction to the bawd and her disreputable way of life, we find the first strong hint of the adapter's intentions. In conclusion, Stevens has this to say of Madrid:

> This Great, this Beautiful, this Illustrious Town, cannot be exempt from that which is Inherent to all Great Cities and Courts, to which, not only the Good and Just resort, but the Vilest and Worst of its own and of other Nations... Madrid has its share of the Vices, as well as of the Vertues and Perfections of other Places.(69)

The implication is that when Captain Stevens talks about 'all Great Cities and Courts', the analogy he wishes to draw most keenly is that nearest at hand to his readers, and where many of them lived. As one continues to read The Bawd of Madrid, the same point is implied time and again. I shall be looking later at Stevens' reasons for harping upon this same analogy, when I consider the London that he lived in, and how what he saw affected what he wrote.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

1. A New English and Spanish Dictionary. Containing several Thousand Words more than any other Dictionary. (London, 1706).

2. Sloane MS. 3093; Robert H. Williams, "A Manuscript Document on the Translations from Spanish by Captain John Stevens," RLC, xvi (1936), 144-66.

3. As before, the editions used in the comparison are the 1971 edition of Dorothy S. Severin (Tragicomedia) and the [1923] edition of H. Warner Allen (The Spanish Bawd).

4. For instance, Mabbe omits the following passages of the Spanish: '¡Oh, quién fuera hombre y tanta parte alcanzara de ti para gozar tal vista!' (127); 'Mas como es un putillo, gallillo, barbiponiente, entiendo que en tres noches no se le demude la cresta' (131).

5. See pages 108, 112, 123 and 128 of The Bawd of Madrid.

6. Both are published in Madrid; the 1645 edition is shelved at 473.1.4. and the 1675 edition at 573.1.5. The two descriptions of Madrid, apart from a few minor emendations, are identical. I have used the later edition since this also resolves most of the abbreviations of the 1645 edition. It is, of course, impossible to say which edition Stevens consulted.

7. A la muy antigua, noble y coronada Villa de Madrid. Historia de su Antiguedad, Nobleza y Grandeza. Por el licenciado Geronimo de Quintana. (Madrid, 1629) Shelved in the British Library at 181.e.12. (hereafter 'Antigüedad').

8. Antigüedad, fol. 375^{a-b}. These discrepancies may be accounted for by the fact that one of the three major fires that damaged the Plaza Mayor in its early history occurred in July 1631 (the others broke out in August of 1672 and 1790) - between the writing of the two descriptions under discussion. Curiously, the Lazarillo, o nueva guia de Madrid (1783) reproduces Quintana's dimensions without comment. See Miguel Molina Campuzano, Planos de Madrid de los siglos XVII y XVIII (Madrid: Ayuntamiento, 1960), 649. I am grateful to Professor J.E. Varey for help in obtaining the above information.

9. Sloane MS. fol. 11^{b}; Williams, 163: 'Antiguedad de Madrid, por Jeronymo de Quintana'.

10. In one instance this may be a genuine mistake, Stevens mentions '58 Monasteries' where the Población has 'cincuenta y siete Conventos de Frayles y Monjas; en ellos el del Serafico Padre San Francisco ...' (fol. 6^{b}). By way of explanation, I can only suggest that Stevens read 'con ellos' for 'en ellos' and added the monastery mentioned to the total. Incidentally, Quintana has no figure for the number of religious orders, though he has descriptions of about fifty in the latter part of the Antigüedad.

CHAPTER IX

THE REWORKING OF THE CELESTINA IN THE BAWD OF MADRID

To describe Captain Stevens and his contemporaries as engaging in the work of translation needs some qualification. As in other ages, there was no lack of controversy in the Restoration and early eighteenth-century period over what consitituted a faithful rendering of a foreign work in English, and what was a complete travesty of the original author's intentions. With his accustomed concern for order and clarity, John Dryden attempted in the preface to his translation of Ovid's Epistles to divide translation into three distinct modes: metaphrase, or strictly literal rendering; paraphrase, where an author's meaning is more important than his actual words; and imitation, where, in varying degrees, the distinctive style and content of an author serve to inspire the reworker as he fashions a work to his own inclinations.[1] But Dryden would have been the first to deny that his distinctions were rigid ones, for to do a work full justice, a translator often found that in practice it demanded more than one mode of translation. Later in the same preface, he admits that such compromises can be necessary:

> since every language is so full of its own proprieties, that what is beautiful in one, is often barbarous, nay sometimes nonsense, in another, it would be unreasonable to limit a translator to the narrow compass of his author's words. (i, 241)

Dryden argues here that there are good aesthetic reasons why an author should sometimes not be translated word for word, but such reasons would also be economic ones for those who tried, in such times as those, to make a living from translating. If for any reason a work was tedious or distasteful, it would not sell, so readers of the finished translation had always to be kept in mind. Excessive prolixity and religious moralising were just two of the unfashionable elements that would, more often than not, be expunged from foreign works in translation during this period. We saw, for instance, that the authors of The Life of Guzman worked from a French version because it had already taken out 'all that was Tedious in the Spanish' (Preface, $A5^{b}$) to suit the similar tastes of French readers. With their potential reading public in mind, then, English translators could veer from 'metaphrase' to the broadest meaning of 'imitation' and back again, according to the material they were working on for publication.

Captain Stevens was himself no exception. That he could be literal in translation, and even attempt to justify it, is evidenced by a literary occurrence seven years before the publication of The Spanish Libertines. An exiled Frenchman in London, Peter Motteux, was dissatisfied with the first English translation of Don Quixote which Shelton had hurriedly completed for publication in 1612, with the result that it was sometimes awkwardly metaphrastic and, elsewhere, occasionally inaccurate. Motteux arranged for a more careful translation to be executed by an eminent consortium of translators and advisers.[2] He had obviously intended making it a major publishing event,

> but there was the necessity of the first Part of the Work immediately, being informed that while it was supervising with all leisurely Care, the Booksellers concern'd in the old Translation had got it alter'd with all speed and resolv'd at any Rate to have it come out first. (sig. A6[a])

The translator responsible for this 'refurbish'd' Don Quixote was Captain Stevens, who, in his preface, tried to justify his methods of translation:

> I have endeavour'd to follow the Spanish as close as ever the English would bear, not only in rend'ring the Transactions exactly as represented, but in the very Language and Stile, chosing rather to be blam'd for adhering too servily to my Author, as it is generally term'd, than to alter any thing of his Sense, which my chiefaime [sic] is to render as intelligible as may be, and yet deliver it genuine without adulteration. I do not question but some will blame this my strict Translation from the Original, but these I believe will be only such as love to intrude their own Notions into the Works of others, which by such embellishments, as they would have them thought, they only corrupt and defame among those who do not understand the Originals.[3]

If we had no other examples of Captain Stevens' works of translation, and were taken in by his tone of vehement sincerity, we might consider this a statement representative of his professional convictions. But if they were sincere convictions, we shall see that he was forced to abandon them seven years later in his reworking of the Celestina.

In a more general sense, this incident, and Stevens' remarks in particular, do illustrate the prevailing uncertainty over what constituted a generally acceptable translation, and the contradictions into which economic expediency could force a translator who lived by his work. While it is quite conceivable that Stevens genuinely considered Don Quixote suitable material for literal translation, we can only guess whether financial reasons forced him to undertake the reworking of Shelton's Quixote, and obliged him to justify himself in this manner.

It is evident from the way The Bawd of Madrid begins that Captain Stevens at first considered the Celestina, as it stood, decidedly unsuitable material for literal translation into English. In the manuscript catalogue of his library, we obtain an overall picture of what he thought of the Spanish work from his description of the Tragicomedia in his possession:

> The Spanish is old yet the matter is diverting, tho preposterous as a Play. I have made an English Tale of it, call'd The Bawd of Madrid, printed in the Book Entitled The Spanish Libertines.
> (Sloane MS, fol. 9[a])

THE NARRATIVE STRUCTURE OF THE BAWD OF MADRID

It will first be helpful to summarize briefly the formal characteristics of the Spanish Tragicomedia. To call it a play is decidedly unhelpful, for it was not written for dramatic performance as we understand the term, though it was almost certainly read aloud. Since it is in dialogue, the word 'novel' could also be misleading, so perhaps 'a work in dialogue' is the most diplomatic compromise to adopt. Apart from the lengthy prefatory material, and the rubrics which precede each division of the work (mostly inserted by the printer), all information is communicated by the spoken word, in the form of dialogue or soliloquy.

Presumably, the adapter considers the work 'preposterous as a Play', because of its great length, and he accordingly shortens it to nine chapters in his version. Deciding to make 'an English Tale of it', he sets to work by rendering the dialogue in narrative form, presenting the action and relating the conversations from the point of view of an observer or narrator, and to a considerable extent using his own words. Stevens begins The Bawd of Madrid with a description of Madrid from another source and contimues in reported speech for the first two chapters. Then, without warning and for no apparent reason, he reverts to translating the dialogue form of the original Spanish text in the middle of chapter III during Celestina's first conversation with Melibea (Bawd of Madrid, 84-5). Thereafter, although he returns to the narrative mode after this conversation, these passages of dialogue, often literally translated from the Spanish, continue to appear at frequent intervals during the rest of the adaptation.

What is the explanation for this unheralded change of form in chapter III? It seems to me that the adapter may, in beginning to rework the Celestina, have become aware that to attempt to transform an essentially spoken idiom into that of the third-person narrative was to deprive the Celestina of its main source of vitality. Since, in the original work, all information is conveyed by the spoken word, the greatness of Rojas' artistry lies in his ability to exploit the possibilities of direct speech to the full. The narrative mode can try to describe and imitate, but never equal the unique characteristics of the dialogue form: immediacy and spontaneity, and the dramatic possibilities of tension and verbal interplay, soliloquy, asides and spontaneous humour, that spring from them.

One is conscious of this impoverishment in reading the first two chapters of the adaptation, though one can understand Stevens' decision to preface the first conversation between Calisto and Melibea with a description of the location, that of Madrid, and an introduction to the notorious practices of the bawd Celestina. He may have considered that to begin his adaptation with the opening scene of the Tragicomedia would not have been understood by his readers and might dissuade them from reading further.

This introduction to the imagined world of Celestina comprises chapter I of the adaptation. Chapter II is taken up with the events of the first three acts of the Celestina, notably Stevens' account of the first three important conversations: the first meeting of the lovers (Bawd of Madrid, 73-5; Rojas, 46-7); Sempronio's criticism of his master's infatuation (BM, 76; Rojas, 51-6); and Celestina's first attempt to win over Pármeno (BM, 77-9; Rojas, 66-72).

The first of these conversations loses much of its force and immediacy in the narrative form because of the repetition of connecting phrases ('answered Calisto ... reply'd Melibea ... said Calisto', etc.) which become almost lost in the long passages of rhetoric, and detract from the dramatic tension created by the original Spanish work. By reducing the next two dialogues to a long uninterrupted monologue in each case, the adapter finds a way to avoid this tedious repetition. Sempronio and Celestina speak at great length and the reaction of the other character - Calisto and Pármeno respectively - is recorded in Stevens' own words as he resumes his role of narrator at the end of each dialogue. For instance, Sempronio takes about a page to settle his master's mind on the deceitfulness of women and then suggests that he seek the help of Celestina in the furtherance of Calisto's love:

> Calisto was overjoy'd at the Proposal, and impatient to see her, promising Mountains if she could bring about his design. (76)

After this short description of Calisto's reaction, Stevens describes Sempronio's departure and carries on narrating the subsequent events.

> As far as doing justice to the original is concerned, this reworking creates as many problems as it solves. In the first of these reported conversations, Stevens is forced to omit the grotesque ravings of the love-sick Calisto, and the apposite and humorous replies and asides that Sempronio interjects; and he is obliged, in the second, to omit completely the agile exchanges of wit and innuendo between Celestina and Pármeno, also giving the impression by implication that Celestina succeeds in winning over Pármeno solely as the result of her powers of persuasion and not, as the drift of the conversation in the Tragicomedia suggests, with the additional promise of the favours of the

prostitute Areúsa. As we shall see later, Stevens seems to have had his own reasons for this change of emphasis.

It may be, then, that Captain Stevens was not wholly satisfied with his methods of reworking by the time he had completed two chapters. This suspicion is entirely in keeping with the formal change that he suddenly introduces into the conversation in chapter III. It is also reinforced by the fact that most of the subsequent conversations of any length, which he also considers important to his own interpretation of the work, are reproduced as dialogues, often in an abridged or otherwise adapted form. The conversations reproduced as dialogues are: Celestina's first conversation with Melibea, already mentioned (BM, 85-90; Rojas, 92-100); Celestina's negotiations with Areúsa on behalf of Pármeno (BM, 96-104; Rojas, 126-132); the conversation during the meal at Celestina's house (BM, 109-118; Rojas, 143-152); Calisto's first arranged meeting with Melibea (BM, 126-29; Rojas, 171-77); the argument that ends in Celestina's death (BM, 134-39; Rojas, 179-84); and, lastly, the conversation whereby Elicia and Areúsa, wishing to revenge themselves on Calisto and Melibea, elicit information from Sosia about the nocturnal movements of his master (BM, 151-153; Rojas, 209-213).

Why did the adapter choose to reproduce these dialogues rather than others? There are two occasions upon which Stevens tries to justify himself on this account. One of these occurs in chapter V. Stevens has been describing the preparations for the meal at Celestina's house, and before he allows the mealtime conversation to begin, he makes the following interjection:

> They all sat down; and because there is something of Variety in their Discourse, and many Notable Remarks may be made upon it, we

will set it down at large. (109)

'Variety' in this case could mean a number of things to a man of Stevens' time. It could refer, for instance, to the changes of mood in the characters and in the tone of conversation. The varied conversation that follows this interjection touches on such subjects as the merits of imbibing wine, the prostitutes' low opinion of Melibea's reputed beauty, and the disadvantages of being rich; upon the arrival of Melibea's maid, Lucrecia, the conversation turns to the shoddy treatment that serving-maids receive at the hands of their mistresses. Finally, Celestina harks back to her prosperous trade of former times, and bewails the plight in which she finds herself.

But 'Variety' may also mean 'entertainment' or 'diversion'. This is particularly plausible in view of a remark made in the preface about all four works:

> They are Pieces full of Diversion, being a continual Interchange of Variety and surprizing Accidents. (fol. A2[a])

The same 'Variety' can be found in several of the other dialogues: in the discussion between Celestina and Melibea on the merits of youth and old age; in Celestina's lascivious cajoling of Areúsa to take more than one lover; in the manœuvring of the old bawd as Calisto's servants demand their share of the bounty. While they are diversions from the thread of the narrative, they are also entertaining, and thus arguably worth retaining by the adapter.

The other occasion upon which Captain Stevens justifies his reproduction of the dialogue form of the original Spanish is rather more explicit. This occurs in chapter IV. After describing Parmeno's

final capitulation to Celestina's wishes, and their arrival at Areúsa's lodging, the adapter interposes the following comment before reproducing Celestina's conversation with Areúsa:

> but that we may not lose any part of this Womans Perfections, we will deliever [sic] the whole Discourse that pass'd between them, where the Reader will better see the Arts and Wiles of those sort of Creatures, than in a bare Relation; for in their Words lies the Poison they convey, which is the Reason we are so exact in setting them down, and delivering Conferences entire, since they are the Life of this Story, and the Methods us'd by all those who profess this Employment; and therefore none ought to find Fault that this Account is so taken up with Dialogues, since those are the main Subject Matter of it, as inducing to those Actions which are too well known, and Modesty forbids speaking of any other way, than as the Consequences of such Discourses. Let this suffice to show the reason of the frequent Dialogues, and so we proceed. (96)

This lengthy interjection is of great importance to several other aspects of the adaptation, and the wider implications that it suggests will occupy much of the rest of this study. Leaving to one side the social and didactic implications for the present, what does the adapter reveal here about his problems in grappling with the unusual form of the original Celestina? He acknowledges that the narrative mode ('a bare Relation') is not adequate to convey to the reader the vigour and dramatic tension with which Rojas imbues his work, and consequently he includes the dialogues at certain strategic points because he recognises how essential they are to the vitality of the Celestina ('they are the Life of this Story').

In examining the alterations to the formal structure of the Tragicomedia under the pen of the adapter, we have already seen the compromises he was forced to make because of what he considered to be acceptable to the readers of his age. Stevens, writing in a very

different climate of opinion from Rojas, saw himself obliged to summarize large sections of the work to avoid seeming ponderous or prolix; in short, to ensure as far as he was able that the book would sell satisfactorily. This is, of course, a far cry from the circumstances of Fernando de Rojas, who appears to have written to satisfy himself and a few close friends who, if anything, encouraged him to further enlarge the already lengthy Comedia.[4] Rather than run the risk of displeasing prospective readers, Stevens tends to omit elements in the Tragicomedia that do not have some bearing on the main action. After complaining in the preface - a complaint familiar to us by now - that the Tragicomedia has far too many acts, Captain Stevens further elaborates on the procedure he has adopted in his reworking. He decided:

> that it would never appear well in its Natural Dress, which prevail'd with me to alter the Method, retaining still the whole Intrigue, without Deviating from it in the least, but only making a Tale of it, and therefore the Dialogue is kept up in a great measure. (sig. A3^{b})

If a particular dialogue furthers the action of the plot, but is more taken up with the incidentals of conversation - philosophical reflections, sententious advice and humour of all kinds (in short, words spoken for their immediate relevance), with the exception of the six dialogues previously mentioned - the adapter will tend to summarize in his own words the bearing of such a conversation on the action, omit the incidentals and hasten on to the next event in the story. Where a conversation has little or no relevance to the essence of the story, the adapter tends to omit that dialogue completely. The following two examples illustrate such editing.

The scene from the first act in which Elicia hides her other lover, Crito, in the broom-cupboard at the approach of the unsuspecting Sempronio is deleted entirely in the adaptation, and Stevens refers only to Sempronio 'seeing a little Strumpet he had in the Old Procurer's House' (77). It is worth observing in passing that this deletion removes much of the hidden meaning and humour from Elicia's double bluff which Stevens later reproduces in chapter VI, when she boasts at table for Sempronio's benefit:

> How you Fancy you have pleas'd me? But take my Word for it, that as soon as ever your Back is turn'd I have another with me, whom I Love much better than you; and who does not contrive to Vex me as you do, after staying away half a Year. (113-4)

The adapter includes the five interpolated autos that were added to the 1499 Comedia, describing them as briefly as possible and omitting one - Act XVI - entirely. Basically, this treats of the plans of Pleberio and Alisa to marry their daughter Melibea. Stevens seems to have considered it superfluous to the action as a whole, but Rojas had good reasons for including it. Not only does it heighten the irony of Melibea's taking a lover without her parents' knowledge, but it also allows for a reasonable interval to elapse between the plotting of the whores against Calisto and Melibea, in Act XV, and the seduction of the gullible Sosia in Act XVII, enabling Areúsa to obtain information about Calisto's whereabouts the following night. By this omission, Stevens is obliged to juxtapose these two scenes in consecutive paragraphs (149) having Elicia leaving Areusa in one paragraph only to return at the beginning of the next to find the interview with Sosia already arranged and impending. To the reader of Spanish

familiar with the reconstruction that the interpolations of the Tragicomedia necessitated, this juxtaposition scarcely does justice to the painstaking craftmanship of the original author; the reader unfamiliar with the original is unlikely to find the breathtaking pace of the action plausible at this point. Such a misrepresentation is liable to cause him to reflect adversely on Rojas because of this, doing him an injustice unworthy of his careful construction of the original.

Captain Stevens rarely omits whole scenes in his adaptation, but he is consistent in editing out smaller details contained in the Tragicomedia where he also considers these superflous to the thread of the narrative. This is best seen in his treatment of the asides of the servants. When he describes a dialogue in his own words, of course, he omits any asides contained therein as well, but he also removes the asides from the majority of dialogues that he retains in whole or in part. The humorous comments that Sempronio and Pármeno make on their master's progress with Melibea are relegated from the dialogue in chapter VI of the reworking to the opening paragraph of chapter VII. It is significant that the only aside kept in context and quoted in full in any of the dialogues serves to continue the onward movement of the narrative. After omitting the first of Lucrecia's asides in the first part of chapter III, Stevens retains the second:

Lucrecia.-(¡Ya, ya, perdida es es mi ama! ¡Secretamente quiere que venga Celestina! Fraude hay; ¡más le querrá dar, que lo dicho!)	L. Nay, then my Mistress is a lost Woman; she bids Celestina come Privately; there is something in it; she will give more than her Girdle.
Melibea.-¿Qué dices, Lucrecia?	M. What is that you say, Lucretia?
Lucrecia.-Señora, que basta lo dicho; que es tarde. (Tragicomedia, 100)	L. Madam, I say it is late, 'tis time to have done. (The Bawd Madrid, 90)

After this interruption, Rojas has Celestina carry on with her goodbyes at some considerable length in the Tragicomedia, but Stevens, taking his cue from Melibea's servant, has Celestina leave almost immediately. It is worth noting, too, that the adapter makes no attempt to match the phrasing of the servant's aside to her explanation, which Rojas will do for each half-heard aside of his characters.[5]

The adapter also disrupts much of the continuity of the Tragicomedia by systematically editing out several important motifs that run through the work; the religion of love and the parody of the courtly lover, and, since he omits the Petrarchan prologue, he later excises many of the references to the vicissitudes of fortune. To give just one example, he replaces Calisto's doctrinaire reaction to Melibea's rebuttal in the opening scene ('Iré como aquél contra quien solamente la adversa fortuna pone su estudio con odio cruel' (46)), with the following description - 'Calisto, as it were Thunder-struck with this cruel Answer, had not a Word to say' (75). Likewise, nearly all the classical references and allusions are deleted, with the majority of the traditional sententiæ, though where he does reproduce the latter in his dialogue he very often finds an appropriate English equivalent.

It must be said in his favour, however, that Captain Stevens is quite aware of the large gap between the assumptions that the first

readers of the Tragicomedia would have made, and those of the very different reading public for which the adapter destined his work. One feature of the Spanish work, for instance, that an eighteenth-century reader might find disturbing concerns the abrupt changes of scene that (to a reader of this century) make it read like a film-script. One of the few advantages of the narrative form is that the writer can gloss over these abrupt changes of scene in the course of a descriptive story. Two examples from The Bawd of Madrid serve to illustrate this skilful cohesion. Instead of finding his servants at home after his rejection by Melibea, as in the Tragicomedia (47), Calisto finds them waiting by his horse, and his first conversation with Sempronio begins as they ride home (75). Much later, when Celestina goes to see Melibea for the second time, there are, in the original (: 153-4), several rapid changes of scene as Celestina converses with Lucrecia on the way, after which the scene shifts abruptly to Melibea's anguished soliloquy, and then back to the previous conversation. By relating these events as a narrative in his adaptation, (118-20), Stevens avoids all possible chance of confusion.

Intermittently, we gain an idea of Captain Stevens as a perceptive reader when he adds some explanation where Rojas is difficult to understand or is inexplicit. Rather than begin his adaptation, we noted, with the opening scene of the Tragicomedia, which could not fail to puzzle most of his readers, the adapter sets a scene in Madrid and introduces his main character, Celestina. When he introduces the two lovers at the beginning of chapter II, Stevens thinks it in order to add a few words of explanation to remove

some of the enigma from the meeting, declaring that Calisto had seen Melibea on a previous occasion, and that it was a case of unrequited love, before allowing the scene to run its course.

Occasionally, he helps the reader by adding some remarks about the motivation of the characters. In most cases, this is inspired by the Spanish text (often serving as a substitute for including a dialogue), but one interesting observation is not found in the original. At the end of chapter III, Stevens remarks how much Calisto's gifts to Celestina enrage the covetous servants.

> Nor was their Concern to see their Masters Wealth lavish'd, but that she should beg those things which were not capable of being divided, whereas they had propos'd to make Calisto their Common Prey, and to share the Booty equally among them all. (92)

Not only is this not inspired by anything in the Spanish text, it is an acute and original observation on the part of Stevens that occurs but rarely in The Bawd of Madrid.

CHARACTERISATION

Because he is more concerned to reduce the 'preposterous' length of the Tragicomedia to dimensions acceptable to his readers, Captain Stevens has little, in general, to add to the portrayal of the characters as he found it. Since in the Tragicomedia the characters tell us much about themselves by what they say (and also what they do not say), the omission of much of the dialogue means that the adapter tends to assess the characters for the readers by describing them in his own words. Thus Sempronio, who is introduced in a very summary fashion as 'excessive Lewd, given to Women, without any Principle of Honesty, and therefore neither valu'd his Master's Interest nor his Credit' (75). Thus, too, Centurio who 'offer'd to perform more than ever was Written in the Books of Knight-Errantry, tho' he was the Rankest Coward in Nature; and all his Valour lay in his Tongue' (155), though Stevens has told us very little we could not find out from Centurio's own words. In the adaptation we see little of the evolution that takes place in a character such as Pármeno. We have seen from the way the adapter handles the first act of the Tragicomedia that he is more interested in the persuasive powers of the bawd than in the reason that clinches Pármeno's willingness to help Celestina - the promise of Areúsa. For Stevens, this compliance is an indication of the old woman's power, she has managed to 'Debauch the Honesty of the Weak Unthinking Servant'. (79), and there is no trace of the moral conflict that takes place in Pármeno in the first two autos of the Tragicomedia.

Melibea, too, is seen less as a person in a state of development than as a foil to demonstrate the insinuating corruption that the old

procuress is able to work on the most innocent, irrespective of their social upbringing. The adapter's initial description of her, contrasting sharply with the detailed portrayal of the general rubric to the Tragicomedia (45), sees her entirely in terms of her father's attributes:

> ...the Beautiful Melibea, Daughter to Pleberio, a gentleman of the First Rank for Birth, Endowments of the Mind, Fortune, and all other Qualifications which render Men Great in the Eyes of the World. (73)

Stevens attributes her anger in response to Celestina's first approaches to her 'Natural Modesty and Vertuous Education' (90). He conceives of virtue in a very abstract form in the second meeting, as the only important aspect of Melibea's character which, once her virtue is fled, loses its interest for him. He talks, for instance, of Melibea's fainting fit as caused by 'the last Convulsions of departing Vertue' (121) and by the time Calisto has gained access to her garden, she has become merely 'a Passionate Lover' for whom modesty has become only 'a little seeming Bashfulness' (145). The adapter omits Calisto's idealised description of her in the first act, but retains Areúsa's grotesque description of her, in chapter V. This surely detracts from the balance of the original conception; neither description gives us the complete picture of what she is like: the descriptions depend on one another for their partial view of a true picture which is always just beyond the reader's powers of imagination.

Our introduction to Calisto, on the other hand, is more elaborate. We learn at the beginning of chapter II that he has been obsessed with Melibea for some months, and the adapter makes much of Calisto's ecstasy at the long awaited opportunity of talking to his beloved:

> The unexpected sight of the Object on which he had fix'd his Heart, had such a violent Effect upon him, that it ty'd up his Tongue for a while, and he was forc'd to withdraw a few Steps to recover himself from the Surprize. Violent were the Strugglings in his Breast between Fear and Joy; Fear lest his first Addresses should be Scornfully rejected, and Joy that he had now the Opportunity, at least of making his Passion known. Having settled the Storm that distracted his Mind, and Submissively approaching the Lady, after the usual first Salutes, he began to Praise the Power and Goodness of God. (74)

The adapter here succeeds in creating a tense expectancy in the reader, who is unsure how Melibea will react to Calisto's advances, so much so that we feel some sympathy with Calisto when he is rejected. This sympathy does not last very long; by the time Celestina has come to offer her help, Stevens obviously wishes us to dislike Calisto, for he declares that 'Love, or Lust, had taken such entire Possession of Calisto's Heart, that he was Deaf to all good Advice, and would hear of nothing but the compassing of his own Pleasure' (77). This attitude is not diminished at all later in the adaptation. When Celestina brings him the girdle of his beloved, Calisto 'Embrac'd, courted, and Fawn'd, as if she had been some Coy Mistress, to be speedily eas'd of his Pain' (91). As with the other characters, Stevens' comments are normally conveyed by choice of pejoratively-coloured words rather than more neutral ones, but on one occasion he takes it upon himself as narrator to digress upon the sacrilege of the lover going to church to pray for his success:

> Such is the Infatuation of Man, when he has suffer'd his Senses to become Slaves to his Passions, that he can think of Offering up those Prayers, which are no better than Blasphemies; and to make Vows to Heaven for the Advancement of Sin. (108-9)

When Calisto gains access to Melibea's garden on the following night, Calisto is described as flying 'to her Embraces with all the eagerness of a Lustful Ravisher' and later, after consummation, 'Having, for the present, satisfy'd his Appetite, observ'd the Night was far advanc'd, and took his Leave, promising to return the next Night' (145,146). At the end of the work, the adapter regrets that Calisto had died 'without time allow'd him to think of another World' (160), but it is clear that, whatever Rojas thought the true moral of his work ought to be, Captain Stevens believes that each of the characters, especially Calisto, got their just reward.

Since, in its later editions in Spain, the Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea came to be known as La Celestina, it is not altogether surprising that Stevens should regard the go-between as the most important and influential character in the work. The lovers are not mentioned in the title, nor in the first chapter of The Bawd of Madrid, and we have seen that Stevens regarded them as far from exceptional characters, who might be substituted for any other pair of lovers. Stevens' attitude to Celestina's use of witchcraft reflects the increasing scepticism of the educated eighteenth-century reader which I treat more fully in the final chapter. P.E. Russell has shown convincingly that belief in witchcraft was still prevalent among Rojas' contemporaries. He suggests, for instance, that Pármeno's 'todo era burla y mentira' (62) refers not to the fact that the servant was sceptical of the efficacy of witchcraft, but to his conviction that the forces of evil tricked witches into thinking that they had control of supernatural forces when in reality these same forces were far more capricious in their allegiance.[6] In borrowing Pármeno's words for his description

of Celestina at the end of chapter I, it is interesting to see that Stevens uses this phrase to support his own scepticism about witchcraft. He says that, as far as her magic spells were concerned, 'there was nothing in them but Falshood and Deceit' (72). Nevertheless, there is some ambiguity in his portrayal of Celestina. As she casts the spell in the following chapter, he has her say that if 'the Powers of Hell' do not prove her accommodating to her desires, then she proposes:

> to turn Vertuous in spite; to Renounce all their Works of Darkness; and to expose to the Eyes of the World all the Frauds and Illusions, wherewith they draw Unthinking Mortals into their Snares. (81)

After reading this, it would be understandable - at least for the modern reader - to reflect that if she believed that all witchcraft was a fraud and an illusion, then she would not practice it. This is his translation of 'acusaré cruelmente tus continuas mentiras' (85-6), though he seems to be unaware of the possibility that Celestina could still believe in witchcraft even if the powers she invoked were deceitful.

The adapter sees her real powers, not in her use of dark forces, which he does not believe in, but in her use of words, 'for in their Words lies the Poison they convey, which is the Reason we are so exact in setting them down' (96). When I discuss the moral intentions of the adapter I shall have more to say on this subject, but it is worth pointing out that of the five dialogues retained by Stevens before her death, Celestina appears in four, and three are concerned with her persuasion of others for her own gain: the first with Melibea (85-90); the second with Areúsa (96-104); and her last, unsuccessful attempt to persuade Pármeno and Sempronio that there are more important things in life than money, which ends in her death (134-9).

Stevens' characterisation aptly illustrates a principal feature of his style of translation: here, as in his attitudes to the deeds he is recounting as narrator, he attempts to influence the opinions of his audience by putting himself between the reader and what he is reading. By the use of narrative asides, sometimes in digressions of many lines in length, and by the use of carefully selected words which also convey his disapproval where less emotionally-charged words would be of equal validity (as far as describing the action is concerned), he repeatedly emphasizes the distance between his attitude as narrator, and the events which he is describing. Nor should we accuse him of moralising too ponderously, when we consider that it may not be so much that he is unwilling to allow the reader to think for himself, but that he does not wish the reader, and the society the reader represents, to reflect on him too harshly because of the things he includes in his books. We can only guess at the social restraints that Captain Stevens, as a Roman Catholic in a city largely composed of still hostile Protestants, was subjected to.

THE ADAPTER'S TREATMENT OF ROMAN CATHOLIC REFERENCES

If Captain Stevens were not vulnerable enough by mere virtue of being a Roman Catholic, the fact that he was a translator of Spanish, and therefore Catholic, works of literature makes his position even more fraught with dangers. While it may be true, for the time that James Mabbe lived, 'that Protestant England was keenly interested in Spanish devotional literature', as P.E. Russell has maintained,[7] the England for which Stevens wrote had recently emerged from the experience of a still unsettled religious conflict, which cannot fail to have affected their attitudes. In view of the vulnerability of his situation, it is interesting to see how he deals with the specifically Catholic and anticlerical references in the Celestina. It will be remembered that, in his Spanish Bawd, Mabbe tries to exclude Christian references entirely, replacing them where necessary with an assortment of classical, pagan and folkloric elements. Perhaps because religious sectarianism was a more important social issue in his day (also in the sense that to betray an absence of religious loyalty was, at least to some influential people, as dangerous as belonging to an unpopular religious faction), and perhaps because he had much to lose, Stevens is far more subtle in his treatment of religious matters than was Mabbe before him. He retains all unsectarian references to the church, cleverly substituting all arguably Papist allusions with equivalents acceptable to Protestant sensibilities.

For example, where Mabbe omits the anticlerical satire contained in Act IX of the Tragicomedia, Stevens, no doubt bearing in mind a similar tendency towards ecclesiastical debunking in his own age,

keeps the references to the Church's patronage of the bawd's business. Thus, the phrase 'Cabelleros viejos [y] mozos, abades de todas dignidades, desde obispos hasta sacristanes' (151), becomes, in Stevens' version,' ... Old and Young, Laity and Clergy, from the Bishop to the Sexton' (116); 'abades', of course, is too redolent of priests and monasteries, while 'sexton' is a far less suspicious translation than the latinate 'sacristan'.[8] A more striking example of his caution is also, incidentally, an instance in which Mabbe translates a reference to the Christian religion. This concerns Celestina's dying words, and the clearest way to illustrate this is to set out the three versions together. Mabbe's translation is again in capitals:

¡Ay, que me ha muerto, ay, ay! ¡Confesión, confesión! (184).
AY ME, I AM SLAIN. AY, AY! CONFESSION, CONFESSION! (193).
He has kill'd me! I am a Dead Woman! Help! Help! (139).

Where Stevens cannot find an acceptable English equivalent to a religious phrase in Spanish, as in the previous example, he tends to omit it entirely. This is true for another such phrase in Act IX, which Mabbe also omits entirely: 'Pues otras curas sin renta, no era ofrecido el bodigo, cuando, en besando el filigrés la estola, era del primero voleo en mi casa' (152). While it might be argued that these words of Celestina are excised in the interests of shortening the work, this is the only sentence in a speech of more than twenty lines which Stevens declines to translate. It seems to me that the reason for the omission of these lines depends rather more on the inadmissible presence of the learned words 'bodigo' and 'estola' which have no acceptable equivalents in the liturgies of the protestant denominations of England.

In looking at the sources of The Bawd of Madrid, I mentioned that Mabbe transforms the church, 'La Magdalena', in which Calisto prays for success in his suit to win Melibea, into 'a myrtle-grove'. Stevens stands for no such nonsense and invariably translates 'church', declining to translate 'la Magdalena' literally to avoid any suggestion of Marianism.

THE MORAL INTENTIONS OF THE ADAPTER

Perhaps because Captain Stevens did not consider the removal of all religious elements from his adaptation that might be designated 'Papist' a sufficiently positive gesture to bring him above suspicion, or perhaps because he genuinely believed that his readers, particularly the younger ones, stood in need of moral counsel, The Bawd of Madrid is punctuated by the frequent interpolation of remarks and lengthy passages of a moralising nature. In much of the characterisation, too, we saw that the author tries to influence his readers by his choice of words, often deliberately pejorative, and this is another means by which he imposes his own judgments on the reading of the adaptation.

But, as in the Tragicomedia, these moral judgments are not without their ambiguity. The stance of the adapter is not as easy to define as it at first seems. The preface is quite clear in stating the intended didactic method:

> The design of [these Pieces] is not to Teach those Vile Practices they contain, but rather to expose Vice, and the base Contrivances of Scandalous Persons. They at once Delight and Instruct, leading the Reader insensibly along, with the Pleasure of the Adventures, to reap the Advantage of the Information they give him, for the avoiding the danger of ill Courses and dishonourable Company. Men differ so much in their Tempers, that they must be drawn several ways to the same End, because the same Methods will not prevail upon all. (sig. $A2^{a-b}$)

It must be made clear from the outset that these ideas are not expressed here either for the first or the last time. Such sentiments are the stock platitudes of the age. Among the many examples that could be used to corroborate this, let us consider two, both from works already mentioned in chapter II. The first, said to be written

by John Dunton, is taken from the preface to his news-sheet

The Night Walker; or, Evening Rambles in search of Lewd Woman. (1696).

The writer of the preface is at pains to assure his readers that:

> The Design of this Undertaking is not to minister Fuel to Wanton Thoughts or to please the prophane Pallats of the Beaus and Sparks of the Town but to display Monthly their Abominable Practises in lively Colours, together with their dismal consequences in order to frighten or shame them out of them if possible.(sig. B^a)

It is clear from the detailed contents of this work, from the obvious relish with which the narrator describes his adventures on the streets of London, and the discreet use of initials to preserve anonymity, that the motives for displaying 'their Abominable Practises in lively Colours' are by no means as clear-cut as the preface would imply. The second and more famous example comes from a later work, written some fifteen years after the adaptation of the Celestina. In his preface to Moll Flanders, Daniel Defoe wishes to make it clear to his reader that he has rendered her scandalous autobiography as inoffensive as he is able:

> What is left 'tis hop'd will not offend the chastest Reader, or the modestest Hearer; and as the best use is made even of the worst Story, the Moral 'tis hop'd will keep the Reader serious, even where the Story might incline him to be otherwise ... so it is to be hop'd that such Readers will be much more pleas'd with the Moral than with the Fable; with the Application, than with the Relation, and with the End of the Writer, than with the Life of the Person written of. 9

With Defoe, as with Dunton, there is always the suspicion that they know more than they care to reveal. A thoroughly professional man of letters like Defoe would not be unaware of the fact that many of his readers would wish to have their cake and eat it. The popularity of such works of literature is probably to be attributed to the fact that they make a happy compromise between what their more respectable

readers felt they ought to read and what they secretly wanted to read. If this is the case, one can understand a writer using a preface to whet the readers' appetite for the scandalous even as he managed to appease their guilty consciences.

The problem that faces us is whether Captain Stevens shared this ambiguous attitude in his Spanish Libertines. The evidence is somewhat conflicting. We know that the second Earl of Clarendon deemed him honest, and that, in the preface to Pedro de Cieza's Travels, he thoroughly disapproved of the moral and literary climate of opinion in his day. On the other hand, we saw how drastically his attitudes to translation could change in seven years, how in the preface to the refurbished Quixote he criticised 'such as love to intrude their own Notions into the Works of others' (sig. A5[a]) and yet did precisely that in The Bawd of Madrid.

There is not necessarily any contradiction involved. However much he may have disapproved of the tastes of his readers, if it is true that he lived by what he published then there were more pressing needs than pious otherworldliness. Knowing that many of his readers would read the books for the wrong reasons would not prevent him from publishing the work, but it may have caused him to create the role of a narrator for the Celestina, so that he could place himself at the distance from his work necessary to register his disapproval of the events he was relating.

The strongest way in which he registers his disapproval is through the various digressions that he inserts at appropriate intervals throughout the adaptation. Many of these digressions, which in total comprise the greatest single addition that Stevens makes to the

Celestina, were dealt with when I looked at the way the adapter makes his own comments on the characters. In many of the other asides, however, Stevens goes beyond the confines of his tale to draw the reader's attention to a number of more widely applicable social and individual failings that are suggested to him by the events of the Celestina. When Sempronio and Parmeno are summarily executed by the civic authorities, the narrator takes it upon himself to launch an invective against judicial systems that punish the common offenders yet fail to bring justice to bear on those in high office who employ such people to do their work (140). By far the greatest number of digressions (96, 106, 132, 149) are concerned with the corruption of the young, especially of young women. In all this, the implication is reiterated again and again, as it was in the first chapter where the adapter drew the initial parallel between Madrid and other 'Great Courts and Cities' (69), that the reader is invited to perceive these evils, rife much nearer home than the distant capital of Spain. I shall be looking at some of these parallels in the final chapter, but it is as well to note in conclusion that Stevens may also have chosen to adapt the Celestina because its tragic denouement constitutes a solemn warning to those who deceive and allow themselves to be deceived. The reader is not only able to see the methods of deceivers, but can also profit from seeing the fatal consequence that such actions lead to.

As far as I know, the only other assessment of The Bawd of Madrid has been made by Robert H. Murray in his edition of Stevens' Journal:

> A man who knows no Spanish might get some idea of the original by reading this version, but it is a wan, pale transcription indeed if one compares it with the vigorous, full-blooded translation of La Celestina, issued by James Mabbe in the previous century. (xi-xii)

Apart from the occasional perceptive insight that Stevens offers us to assist our understanding of the characters, I agree with Murray that The Bawd of Madrid is the inferior English version of the two. Though his use of a narrative structure is an imaginative and interesting experiment, Stevens has unfortunately deprived his reader of a chance to fully appreciate the consummate artistry of the Tragicomedia. Even though he inserted some of the dialogues from the original to remedy this deficiency, the total effect still leaves much to be desired, and though The Bawd of Madrid offers us some useful insights into the social concerns of the age, it cannot be justly considered a worthy successor to Mabbe's Spanish Bawd.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IX

1. Preface to the translation of Ovid's Epistles (1680), in Essays of Dryden, ed. W.P. Ker (Oxford: Clarendon, 1926) i, 237.

2. Don Quixote ... Translated from the original by several hands and published by Peter Motteux (London, 1700). In the preface, Motteux mentions that 'Colonel Codrington, Colonel Stanhope, Sir Henry Sheer, William Aglionby ... Thomas Sergeant' contributed to the translation and he acknowledges the help of 'Mr. Wycherley, Mr. Congreve, Dr. Garth, Dr. Pellet, Thomas Cheek Esq., Mr. Savage, Mr. Thomas Brown and some other ingenious friends, not forgetting Don Bernardino Navarro' (sig. $A5^{b}$).

3. Don Quixote ... Formerly made English by Thomas Shelton; now Revis'd, Corrected, and partly new Translated from the Original. By Captain John Stevens (London, 1700, repr. 1706), sig. $A4^{b}$-5^{a}.

4. Tragicomedia (Prólogo, 43-4). The first known version of the Celestina had 16 autos.

5. Recent critics have given particular emphasis to the use of the aside in the Celestina. See Marcel Bataillon, La Célestine selon Fernando de Rojas (Paris: Didier, 1961), 83-91; María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, La originalidad artística de La Celestina (2a ed., Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria, 1969), 136-148.

6. "La magia como tema integral de la Tragicomedia de Calisto y Melibea," in Studia Philologica. Homenaje a Damaso Alonso, iii (Madrid: Gredos, 1963), 337-354, at p. 347.

7. "English Seventeenth-Century Interpretations of Spanish Literature," Atlante, i (1953), 65-77, at p.66.

8. In his Dictionary, Stevens gives both meanings for the Spanish 'sacristan' (fol. Uu4^{b}).

9. The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders, ed. G.A. Starr (London: Oxford U.P., 1971), 2. I am grateful to Mr Dixon for drawing my attention to this similarity.

CHAPTER X

A LITERARY COMPARISON OF

THE TWO ADAPTATIONS

I have so far refrained from making too many direct parallels between the two adaptations while discussing their literary merits, but it is now time to draw some aspects of both these works together for purposes of comparison.

Formally, they are very different. The five-act Tragi-Comedy displays a number of the distinctive hall-marks of late Restoration theatre. Throughout the work, the dialogue moves swiftly from prose to verse, from satire and innuendo to violent emotion. By contrast with the thoroughly professional appearance of the play, The Bawd of Madrid reads very awkwardly. The adapter is experimenting with a mixture of literary forms which, as far as I know, he has not previously used, nor does there seem to be much evidence of this curious blend of prose narrative and dialogue in other contemporary works. As an identifiable literary form, the novel was not developed until more than a decade later, when it began to flourish under the pen of Defoe, and later that of Smollett, Fielding, Richardson and others. Yet perhaps we can see Captain Stevens' adaptation, with much of the criminal fiction of the time, as a crude and early attempt to find a new form of literary expression.

The literary form of the two works expresses in a number of ways the different purposes for which each was written. It is evident from the foreword to A Tragi-Comedy that the primary concern of the authors

is to reduce the Celestina to a form at least comparable to the Neoclassical model and acceptable to popular tastes. This preoccupation with public esteem shows itself elsewhere in the preface:

> there are some Moral Reflections [in the Celestina], with some Humour scatter'd up and down, and so little Wit, that all the other Qualitirs [sic] cannot save it from the Scandal of being tedious. (ii, Cc3[b])

From the general tone of the preface, here and elsewhere, the implication is that the adapters are much more interested in obtaining a favourable reception for their work than putting forward any strongly-held moral interpretation of the events they are dramatizing. There is a moral exhortation in Lucretia's final speech, but this seems to be little more than a conventional epilogue to the play and there are few other attempts to moralise during the course of the action. But the interest expressed by the preface in the Celestina as a work of entertainment is particularly understandable if the adapters were aware of the indifferent success of the translation on which they based their adaptation: James Mabbe's Spanish Bawd. We have seen that the changes they effect in the reworking of the Celestina are made with the expectations of late Restoration audiences kept firmly in mind. For instance, they modernize the humour already present in the original work (see, for example, pages 9, 48-9, 59-60), adding innumerable humorous and satirical touches of their own devising that would find favour with the highly critical audiences of their time. (see, e.g. 7, 25, 84, 89).

If the dramatic adaptation was modified to emphasize its value as entertainment, The Bawd of Madrid, as I demonstrated in the previous

chapter, has an unmistakeable didactic purpose. Its preface emphasizes that all the pieces in The Spanish Libertines are published, not for the excesses of human behaviour that they contain, but for the moral lessons that can be derived from reading them. If The Bawd of Madrid reads awkwardly, this is partly to be attributed to the fact that the artistic merits of the original work in dialogue are subordinated to the adapter's didactic purpose. The narrative prose which provides the normal mode of expression in this adaptation is built around passages of dialogue, and moral asides disguised in a variety of forms which reveal the true purposes of the narrator. Stevens frequently shifts from his role of observer to that of commentator; he moves from describing what he sees to suggesting to the reader what he ought to see.

This ordering of material from the Celestina to fit in with Stevens' personal judgments on the events he is describing contrasts sharply with the modifications we find in the dramatic adaptation to ensure its enjoyment and ready acceptance by its audience or readers. Perhaps this contrast can best be appreciated if we compare the way each adaptation uses a particular passage from the original Celestina. As an example, I shall consider their treatment of the first description of Celestina.

In A Tragi-Comedy, this description by Sempronio, like much of the description elsewhere, is terse and to the point. It is brief enough, in fact, to reproduce here:

> Sempronio.-...You must know, my Lord, that 'twas my good Fortune some time ago to make an Acquaintance with a very Civil Gentlewoman, one Madam Celestina, a Lady of great Parts and Experience, who can outdo a Witch in Tricks and Devices: She has not been idle in her Days, but has marr'd and made up again a Hundred thousand Maidenheads in this City. She has a Tongue that would charm a Saint, move Rocks, melt Flint, and make the most cruel Virgin in Spain as kind as a Young Widow who has been tantaliz'd by an Old Husband. (5)

Certain facts about the technical preoccupations of the dramatists emerge from this description. I have already mentioned that it is considerably shorter than the same passage in Mabbe's translation. The adapters omit to mention where Sempronio met the bawd, unlike Mabbe, who describes the location as 'at the lower end of this street' (ed. Warner Allen, 20). The adapters are frequently vague about locale: they rarely mention any place beyond the immediate stage setting, something which forms a notable contrast to the original version, where the characters often refer to places and events beyond their immediate setting. The description of Celestina as 'a very Civil Gentlewoman' replaces Mabbe's 'an old bearded woman' (20), a literal rendering of the Spanish phrase. This change serves two important functions in the exposition of the play: Sempronio's fulsome praise of the old bawd contrasts deliberately with Pármeno's more pejorative description later in the same act. By using the description 'a very Civil Gentlewoman', Sempronio increases the likelihood that Calisto will obtain a favourable initial impression of the disreputable old woman, at the same time getting an extra laugh from the audience, since the aura of respectability that he creates around her diverges sharply from what they have been led to believe from the title of the work: Celestina: or, the Spanish Bawd.

The last sentence of this description is in fact much longer than its equivalent in Mabbe and in the Spanish text. Both these last two versions have remote allusions to the powers of Orpheus that Mabbe renders 'she will move hard rocks, if she list, and at her pleasure provoke them to luxury' (21). Literary allusions are given prominence in the Celestina, but are less important in the adaptations, and the additional idea of the bawd provoking rocks to lechery, while very apposite in its original context and to its first readers, would be less appealing to eighteenth-century audiences. Instead of repeating the allusion as it stands, the adapters prefer to remove the element of personification in the reference to rocks, add another inanimate image ('melt Flint'), and surround these two images with two human images of persuasion which balance the inanimate ones and strengthen the whole impression of Celestina's forceful powers of persuasion in the imagination of their listeners. The first of these images is a religious metaphor not found at this point in the original ('She has a Tongue that would charm a Saint'), though this evidently presages the frequent references to religious topics later in the play. The simile at the end of the description is even more interesting: 'She has a Tongue that would ... make the most cruel Virgin in Spain as kind as a Young Widow who has been tantaliz'd by an Old Husband.' This provides us with another good example of the adapters' use of contemporary stock ideas about Spanish society. The convention of the young maiden forced into a marriage of convenience with a much older man of considerable social standing is familiar in English works of the period, especially those dealing with Spanish subjects. It may not

be out of place to mention in this connection that Francis Manning's All for the Better contains just such a character in Henrietta, the young wife of a covetous old merchant called Lopez. What is more important where its value as an image is concerned, is that although it lacks imagination as a genuine observation on Spanish society it would nonetheless gain ready acceptance from an audience who were probably even less enlightened about such exotic subjects.

In conclusion, we can say that these three additional images enliven the rather literary metaphor of the original considerably, and give a far more easily imaginable impression of the effectiveness of Celestina's powers of persuasion. The description as a whole is concise,yet expressive, and gives a vivid overall idea of the extraordinary character of the old bawd. As in the Tragicomedia, this is later balanced by the more critical description through the eyes of Pármeno (ATC, 13-14).

The length of the first description of Celestina in The Bawd of Madrid is out of all proportion to that of the original Spanish work or that of A Tragi-Comedy. If we include the description of the city in which Celestina lives, then it is not an exaggeration to say that the whole of the first chapter is devoted to her background and character. The detailed description of Madrid thus serves two functions: it suggests a parallel between Madrid and London, and it gives a backcloth of solid reality to the existence and operations of the old bawd. The solidity of this setting forms another contrast with the seemingly arbitrary locale of the dramatic adaptation. Despite the repeated assurances that the adapters give throughout their play that the setting is Valencia, the fleeting references to Madrid and London society give one

the strong impression that the characters of A Tragi-Comedy would feel equally at home in a Spanish or an English setting. The location is, in other words, among the least important aspects of the play.

The comprehensive description of the city of Madrid that opens Stevens' adaptation is further enhanced by the inclusion of the details of Celestina's life and work. The adapter has, in fact, combined elements of the two descriptions by Sempronio and Pármeno into one account, for it is the latter who is familiar with the details of the everyday life of the procuress. I have already made the observation that these two descriptions of Celestina are complementary and that, by combining them, the adapter unfortunately erases the deliberate ambiguity with which Rojas portrays Celestina. Yet I think it is possible to show that Stevens' intentions also are deliberate, and that he constantly keeps to the forefront of his mind his moral purpose as he adapts the Celestina.

Sempronio's description of Celestina, designed to impress his master Calisto, is fulsome in its praise of the old woman. Pármeno, no less concerned that his master should fully realise what he is letting himself in for, mercilessly criticises Celestina and her practices from first-hand experience. It is clear that Stevens considers such women equally loathsome, so it is not surprising that he adopts the emphasis of Pármeno's description for his own account. At every point in his description of her trade - her ointments, dyes and herbs, her potions and her spells - the adapter takes for his own the scoffing tone of the servant, who tries to persuade his master to have nothing to do with Celestina. It is interesting to note that Stevens ends his account of her evil doings by changing the

meaning of Pármeno's final conclusion, when the latter refers to the way the evil forces pretend to comply with the bawd's wishes, 'y todo era burla y mentira' (62). Stevens uses this phrase to condemn Celestina's use of witchcraft: 'But it is impossible to describe all her Practices; yet this is certain, That there was nothing in them but Falshood and Deceit' (72).

If we look more closely at Stevens' description of Celestina, we find that, apart from using Pármeno's censorious words, he goes still further in adding his personal opprobrium. Later in The Bawd of Madrid, we see that he achieves this by breaking off from his narrative role to add his own comments to what he has described. In this description, and elsewhere, his comments are more carefully worked into the narrative itself. He does this in two noticeable ways: he enlarges on Pármeno's own words and he modifies his translation of the Spanish to give it pejorative or censorious overtones.

Pármeno makes barely any reference to Celestina's physical appearance, so Stevens adds these words to give his own idea of how she looked:

> Her Face was Rugged, Deform'd, and Bearded; her Body bow'd with Age and Distempers; and her Soul was the very Source of Hellish Contrivances. (70)

Later, Pármeno describes how she used her witchcraft to aid people in their pursuit of love. Stevens changes his simple phrase 'Venían a ella muchos hombres y mujeres ...' (62) to 'Abundance of Men and Women of all sorts repair'd to her on these Foolish Errands' (72). The addition of these last words leaves the reader in no doubt as to the narrator's opinion of love potions, witchcraft and the people who believe in such

things. Before this example, Stevens renders the phrase 'para remediar amores y para se querer bien' (62) as 'to force Love, and for other such Superstitious and Diabolical Uses' (72).

More subtly, the narrator imposes his own editorial comments by his choice of words as he translates from the Spanish. This differs only slightly from the previous group of modifications, but here he is actually translating the words of Pármeno for his own ends. There is a good example of his partial stance in translation which occurs when Pármeno describes the utensils used by Celestina:

> Tenía una cámara llena de alambiques, de redomillas, de barrilejos de barro, de vidrio, de arambre, de estaño, hechos de mil facciones. (61)

Stevens translates this:

> She had a Garret full of Limbecks, Glasses, Pots, Pans, and Ten Thousand sorts of Utensils for her several Cheating uses. (71)

A more usual translation of 'cámara' in English would be 'room' or 'chamber'; not only is Stevens' 'Garret' an unusual rendering of the Spanish word, but it also carries with it strong connotations of remoteness, secrecy and even squalor, which he seems to wish that the reader should associate with such unspeakable practices. Stevens' pejorative choice of words is further emphasized by the addition of the phrase 'for her several Cheating uses' at the end of the sentence. This last example is representative of one of the main characteristics of Stevens' method of adaptation. In the whole reworking of the Celestina he subordinates the meaning and form of the original Spanish to conform with his own purposes in adaptation, irrespective of how this misrepresents the original author's artistry and intentions.

In summing up the essential differences between these two descriptions of Celestina, we can see a distinct contrast. That of the dramatic adaptation is short, vivid and designed to interest and amuse its audience. The second is long, factual and detailed, betraying the presence and intentions of the adapter at every turn.

The variety of contrasts displayed in this example rarely show themselves so clearly elsewhere in the two adaptations, but there are many other examples which illustrate one or more aspects of the contrasting nature of the two works. Celestina's invocation of the forces of evil in A Tragi-Comedy (25-6) is the only speech that she declaims in blank verse, and the adapters take advantage of prevailing superstitious beliefs among their audience and heighten the dramatic impact of the spell. With the aid of suitable dramatic techniques of other kinds, this speech could undoubtedly have a powerful effect on its listeners. Captain Stevens' version of the invocation is in his own words; his narration is again factual and detailed, but here again he colours his description with gratuitous remarks reflecting his own views. For instance, he calls witchcraft 'the vain Superstition of Witches and Sorcerers' and refers to 'the Frauds and Illusions, wherewith they draw Unthinking Mortals into their Snares' (81).

From other examples, it is evident that the authors of A Tragi-Comedy consider that sketching the background to their characters is of secondary importance to an appreciation of their play. As happens at the beginning of the Tragicomedia, Calisto and Melibea begin to speak without any formal introduction, nor is it stated whether they had met on a previous occasion. Captain Stevens fills in for his reader the

circumstances surrounding this meeting, in a lengthy introduction at the start of chapter II (73-4), borrowing material from the general rubric that precedes the text of the Tragicomedia and using his own imagination where the Spanish is imprecise about details. It is also significant that Stevens includes Celestina's lengthy reminiscences of her teacher Claudina (93-5), which the dramatic adaptation omits as superfluous to the action of the play. Nor should we forget, to the credit of Captain Stevens, that, apart from his often tedious moralising, he occasionally offers the reader the benefit of his own insights into the Spanish work. His most valuable comments concern the motivation of the characters, and I have mentioned already his perceptive explanation of the servants' anger at the remuneration demanded by Celestina of their master (92). He also fills in his narrative with comments of his own imagining where the text is unclear or the dialogue too bare to leave as it stands in the original. For example, his description of Calisto's hesitation before plucking up courage to speak to Melibea (74) is particularly plausible and, near the end of the work, he describes the approach of the ruffians and Sosia's attempts to drive them away (156) before describing Calisto falling to his death as he comes to the rescue of his servants. His more lengthy description of this event brings the action to a more gradual climax, slowly increasing the drama and tension until the fall of Calisto plunges the work into tragedy. The dialogue in the Tragicomedia at this point (223-24) is sketchy and leaves much to the imagination. For the purposes of his narrative, Stevens fills in the details with deftness of touch and creates a climax fitting for a descriptive prose work.

Although they are less concerned with character portrayal and motivation, the adapters of the play often make scenes more visually impressive, making full use of the considerable dramatic skill at their disposal. This is probably true of Celestina's incantation (25-6) already mentioned, and if we allow our imagination to picture how a staged version of A Tragi-Comedy would be presented, a host of smaller details in the printed text become far more significant. During the meal at Celestina's house, for instance, the argument between Sempronio and Elicia is enlivened by the only partly explicit description of the latter's tantrum: one can imagine in a staged version that she would stand up, brandishing a bottle ('Parmeno.-I bar meddling with Bottles', 58), and then refuse to sit down until Sempronio has given her money to restore her to a better humour. Melibea's suicide at the end of the Celestina is also made more visually convincing: it is unlikely that the spectacle of her throwing herself from a tower could be executed as convincingly from the point of view of the audience as a dagger-thrust. In general, the adapters are careful to contrast scenes of heightened tension and emotion with moments of comic relief. For example, both of the love scenes are preceded by humorous scenes which set them off with striking effect. Before the first arranged meeting between Calisto and Melibea, Sempronio and Parmeno hide at the approach of the night-watch in a conveniently-placed stall. A visually comic scene ensues as Calisto gropes around in the darkness trying to find them (77). Between the long scene in which Calisto examines his own motives for pursuing his obsession with Melibea, and the last fatal rendezvous in the garden, the adapters insert a light interlude in which Centurio discusses with his fellow ruffians what he wants them to do to Calisto (95-6). This scene

provides a lighter moment before the impending tragedy, but it also strikes an ironic note. Thraso and his confederates confess that they have no desire to kill anyone, despite the fact that they have been engaged for just such a task. Yet, ironically, both Calisto and Melibea are killed as the indirect result of their half-hearted actions.

It is difficult, in conclusion, to judge one adaptation as better than the other, since both have their strengths and weaknesses in different aspects. A Tragi-Comedy is written within a well-established literary convention and many of the techniques of Restoration theatre are used to transform the Celestina into an entertaining work displaying in parts extremely imaginative stagecraft. It contains some splendidly witty passages and a great variety of satirical jibes at contemporary fashions which make The Bawd of Madrid seem dull and ponderous by comparison. Yet the latter work has no such established convention to draw upon; it is an attempt at a new form of literary expression, betraying many of the faults of presentation attendant on an experimental work of literature. To a modern reader, its moralising tone detracts from any other merits of solid realism and psychological insight that it possesses. Yet we ought to be wary of accepting modern criteria too readily. A contemporary document like The Term Catalogues is instructive in giving us a point of reference on which we may base a final assessment of the relative popularity of the two works. We ought not to ignore the fact that religious and devotional works outnumber other books of the period by two and sometimes three to one. Works which point an unequivocal moral such

as The Bawd of Madrid were more likely to be read and reread by the literate public of the day than a five-act play, one among many being produced at the time. It may not be without significance in this connection that The Spanish Libertines was reissued with a new title-page in 1709. This is the only indication we have of its continuing popularity, but it is a significant one nonetheless. The Life of Guzman and A Tragi-Comedy were, as far as I can tell, never reprinted.

CHAPTER XI

THE CELESTINA AND EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LONDON

None of the foregoing discussion has attempted to explain adequately the sudden appearance of two adaptations of the Celestina after the neglect into which it had fallen following the indifferent success of James Mabbe's translation in 1631. The period of more than seventy years that separates these works is, however, dwarfed by the immense span of nearly two hundred years between the adaptations and the intense revival of interest in Rojas' work that we have seen in this century. I have tried to suggest that this neglect in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is not so absolute as has been supposed. I drew attention in chapter I to two other references to the Celestina during this period, and, in chapter II, I mentioned the popularity of criminal fiction and the renewed interest in Spanish works of literature from as early as the second half of the seventeenth century.

To widen our terms of reference, I propose in this chapter to ask whether there were any circumstances peculiar to the beginning of the eighteenth century which might have prompted these two very different attempts to adapt the Celestina. To assist our understanding, we must look more closely at the changes that London society was experiencing during this period. It is my contention in this final chapter that the adapters found in this late fifteenth-century Spanish work people and social customs not so very different from those of their own times. It was this breadth of similarity between the two

worlds that enabled them to adapt the Celestina to the circumstances of their own age without great difficulty and allowed them in different ways to draw parallels between the two situations for the benefit of their readers.

I have already drawn attention in other connections to this desire to make comparisons between the two worlds which are otherwise very different in their complexion. Captain Stevens makes an oblique but unmistakeable allusion to London at the end of his description of Madrid (69). In my enumeration of the new elements added to the dramatic adaptation, I mentioned that the adapters seem oblivious of certain inconsistencies they had allowed to creep in during the course of their work, but they may not be so unintentional as they appear. What seems to me to be the most remarkable of these discrepancies occurs in Act IV. Sempronio's allusion to 'an Inns-of-Court Blade' (55) is immediately followed at the top of the next page by a reference to 'the Partridges at Buen retiro' in Madrid. This is particularly puzzling in view of the fact that the action of the play is located in Valencia. Apart from wondering how familiar the writers were with the geography of Spain, one is entitled to ask why, if they were aware of this inconsistency, they should have permitted it to stand. If, as I have maintained, they were intentionally drawing parallels between the two environments, Spain and England, then it is at least possible that this comparison might extend to blending the two into one, as in the above example. If the dramatists are as unfamiliar with things Spanish as they appear to be, then we should not be surprised if they add a great deal of local colour from the environment they are more familiar with, in the hope that the resulting pastiche would prove

more entertaining and convincing to their audience than it would be if they had kept rigidly to the spirit of the Spanish version.

I have already mentioned in chapter II the growing interest in the sector of London society known in those days as 'the Common Sort'. Prominent among these were the people who eked out a living by means that were then regarded as disreputable: among them ruffians, bawds and prostitutes. Before looking at each of these professions in more detail, I want to suggest some of the factors which made cities like London focal points for the congregation of such people.

Some of these factors are timeless in their relevance, factors which have been applicable to the growth of cities since the earliest days of urbanisation. In addition to those who are born and live out their life in London, its relative prosperity attracts ambitious people of both sexes from the rural areas of England. Many, with hopes of becoming prosperous, long before and long after this period, fixed their sights relentlessly on the metropolis as the object of all their hopes. 'SEEK MY FORTUNE', says John Cleland in his Woman of Pleasure (1750),'[is] a phrase which, bye and bye, has ruined more adventurers of both sexes, from the country than it ever made or advanced'.[1] The urban situation also offers the comparative anonymity desired by those who have a past they wish to forget, something almost impossible in the closed environment of the small rural community. Apart from the prosperity and anonymity that London and other cities seemed to offer, this migration from rural areas was encouraged by factors peculiar to this age, which took on an increasing significance as the seventeenth century gave way to the eighteenth.[2]

The first of these factors was the gradual improvement in the latter part of the seventeenth century of road surfaces and means of transport.[3] By the turn of the century there were few places in England that stood more than a week's journey away from the capital. This meant that people from all parts of the country who could afford a seat on a stagecoach or waggon were at least within reach of the capital, and also that those who would previously have remained in ignorance would hear of the attractions of city life, even if its more disagreeable aspects were glossed over by those praising its virtues. The second factor, less permanent but still important, which greatly encouraged this movement of population was the passing of the Poor Law in 1662.[4] This piece of legislation endorsed the authority of any parochial body in England to expel from the confines of the parish any person who was not registered there, irrespective of how long he had lived and worked there, if they feared he might fall on the rates at any future date, and thus become a permanent liability to the parish. For those unwilling or unable for a variety of reasons to return to the parish where they were registered (usually their place of birth), the only alternative was the anonymity of the larger cities, where the Poor Law was more difficult to implement.

The influx of vagrants from outside London was not the only cause of the high incidence of crime in the capital. One contemporary commentator, alarmed at the increase in petty theft, blamed it on the 'thousands of soldiers disbanded, and marines discharged, many of them driven on necessity'.[5] This accusation seems to be borne out by statistical evidence; in a recent article on crime in urban Surrey during this period, J.M. Beattie points out that reductions in the

number of indictments seem to occur in time of war. 'Just as invariably', he says, 'the peaks follow the conclusions of wars: in 1674-6, 1698-1700, 1714-15, 1747-51, 1762-6, 1782-4, and 1802.'[6]

These, then, were some of the reasons for the large assortment of vagrants to be seen on the streets of London during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But the popularity of criminal literature during this period should not simply be attributed to the influx of these social misfits.[7] Vagrancy is a phenomenon that has a number of causes which vary from age to age, and it is rarely absent, even in the more prosperous societies. Even in the time of Shakespeare and earlier still, roguery had a rigid social hierarchy and a literature all of its own.[8] The growth of the popularity of criminal fiction in the period in which these two adaptations of the Celestina were written is to be attributed partly to the flourishing of a well-to-do public; traders, public functionaries and small landowners sufficiently educated to create a demand for such books. They read them, certainly for entertainment, but also because they felt greatly concerned about the threat to their persons and their property that these social undesirables constituted. It is not surprising, given the curious ambivalence of human nature, that the popularity of criminal fiction should be accompanied by a zealous concern for public morals, that found expression in the formation of such social bodies as the Society for the Reformation of Manners. Founded in 1692, it could boast by the beginning of the eighteenth century the patronage of several eminent lawyers, justices of the peace and members of Parliament.[9] The Society employed vigilantes and informers to report infringements of the law.

and, apart from endeavouring to reform the malefactors apprehended, it issued an annual Blacklist concerned with violations of the law in the city and its environs. In 1700, among other lawbreakers, the Society claims to have dealt with '843 lewd and scandalous persons ... as keepers of houses of bawdry and disorder, or as whores, nightwalkers, etc.'[10] In chapter II, I mentioned one journalist who made great capital out of this crusading zeal to reform the poor of London. In his pamphlet The Night Walker for February 1697, John Dunton righteously demands that the London magistrates:

> clear the Streets, which are as noted as the Exchanges, of those lewd Strumpets, and to take up the Damees and Ruffians who are their Paramours, or rather Bullies and Stallions, and bid open defiance to God and Man by their avowed Oaths and Impurities: can we for shame Reproach Rome for having publick Stews, when there are so many known Baudy-houses in London, the Metropolis of the Reformation, which pass without Censure?
> (Preface, sig. A3[a])

Elsewhere, in the number for September 1696, he calls London 'a second Sodom' (sig. B2[b]), and these comparisons form an interesting parallel with Captain Stevens' introductory chapter to The Bawd of Madrid.

Not all writers of the age were as morally indignant as Dunton and the upright citizens of the Society for the Reformation of Manners. Some of the best satirists of this period, men like Defoe, Tom Brown and Sir Richard Steele also described the same sort of people, yet felt less obliged to be unduly censorious. Perhaps they were genuinely more tolerant and lacking in vindictiveness, and perhaps they were also only too aware that such vices and more serious ones were not limited to the poor and vagrant classes, but also went on in the higher echelons of society. Certainly, a man of letters who wishes to be read by all will write for all conditions of men, and be chary of siding with any.

Satirists such as these, if we make due allowance for the selectiveness and exaggeration for effect with which they handle their remarks about the society they are scrutinizing, can probably offer us a better insight into conditions as they actually were, certainly better than those who made a great commotion about such excesses and about their own efforts to remedy them.

The social problems that widespread vagrancy posed in early eighteenth-century London cannot in themselves be held to account entirely for the writing of the two Celestina adaptations at this particular time in history. We have seen that delinquency arising out of a dearth of gainful employment and out of social instability is a phenomenon that occurs in every age. It is rather the fact that such social misdemeanours had become the increasing concern of philanthropists and satirists alike that better helps us to understand the appearance of two modernized versions of the Celestina during this period.

One area of quite remarkable similarity that I propose to explore during the rest of this chapter is the number of close parallels one can draw between the sort of low-life society described in contemporary social documents, particularly in satirical accounts, and the characters and situations found in the Celestina, which is, after all, a late fifteenth-century work. For our present purposes, it does not greatly matter to what extent these contemporary descriptions correspond with the actual social conditions in the capital at that time. The fact that readers seemed to have found them at least credible is sufficient evidence that a fairly stable popular mythology about low-life society already existed. It would probably be on the basis of these commonly-

held beliefs that the adapters of A Tragi-Comedy and The Bawd of Madrid would hope for a popular reception of their modern reworkings of the Celestina.

LONDON RUFFIANS

Tom Brown (see p. 114) collaborated on more than one occasion with one of the adapters of A Tragi-Comedy, John Savage, but some of his better known literary achievements were those he wrote unaided. His Letters from the Dead to the Living (1702) satisfied the general curiosity about life after death as well as being an effective vehicle for social satire of past and present generations. One of these letters, 'From Bully Dawson to Bully W-', is posthumously written by a notorious ruffian of the late seventeenth century to another of similar repute (probably Mr Henry Watson). Dawson outlines what the latter must do to safeguard the reputation of the braggart in the metropolis:

> Therefore, if you ever intend to be my rival in glory, you must fright a bailiff once a day, stand kick and cuff once a week, challenge some coward or other once a month, bilk your lodging once a quarter, and cheat a tailor once a year; crow over every coxcomb you meet and be sure you kick every jilt you bully into open-legged submission and a compliance of treating you. Never till then will the fame of W-n ring like Dawson's in every coffee-house, or be the merry subject of tavern tittle-tattle.[11]

The similarity of these real-life characters to Centurio who appears in Rojas' Tragicomedia must already have struck the reader, but if this archetypal account of the deeds of a London bully lacks verisimilitude, there is a more factual description in Edward Ward's London Spy, published around the turn of the century in serial form. The narrator meets a former schoolfellow who accompanies him on a tour of London. Coming down Ludgate Hill they observe two ruffians arguing, each roundly cursing the other for not having been at the right meeting-place the previous day. Each boasts about his own bravery and they take their leave after making another assignment for later the same day.

The narrator comments that neither will keep the appointment and concludes in verse:

> Bullies, like dunghill Cocks, will strut and crow,
> But few or none dare stand a sparring blow;
> So does the peevish mongrel take delight
> To bark or snarl, show teeth, but dare not bite;
> Oft mischief makes, but still the danger shuns;
> If matched, he fawns, or else turns tail and runs.[12]

Even here it is difficult to say what relationship the ruffians described bore to their counterparts in the everyday life of the city , but it is clear from these and other references that they were a recognisable feature of the London street scene. Individually, they were probably harmless enough as both writers suggest, but corporately, those who joined with the apprentices and others must have constituted a considerable anarchic force. The historian G.M. Trevelyan describes the capital in the reign of Anne as having 'the largest and least manageable mob in the island' (Blenheim, 72). It is interesting that both adaptations elaborate on the references to ruffians in the original Celestina; in Act XVIII of the Spanish work, Centurio only announces his intention of handing over responsibility for carrying out the vendetta against the lovers to Traso and his friends; in the dramatic adaptation this speech becomes an enacted scene in Act V (95-6). Melibea's fears for Calisto's safety in Act XIV of the Tragicomedia include a reference to 'los ladradores perros con sus crueles dientes' (189). In The Bawd of Madrid this danger is replaced by 'whether [Calisto] might not light into the Hands of Ruffians, who stroul about at Nights to make a Prey of those they meet' (144). It seems that fierce dogs were no longer the threat they were in Rojas' time, but that gangs of ruffians certainly still were.

BAWDS AND BAWDY-HOUSES

Central to our comparison of eighteenth-century London with the fictional world of the Celestina are the female criminals who plied their trade in the capital; in particular the prostitution trade which the Society for the Reformation of Manners, among others, was zealously bent on eradicating. Perhaps the most comprehensive description of a brothel is again to be found among the lampoons written by Tom Brown. In his Amusements Serious and Comical (1700), the author takes an Indian friend to see some of the everyday sights of the town. They visit a Quaker meeting-house and, by way of a contrast, Tom Brown takes him into what appears to be a coffee-house, but which turns out to be merely the front for a brothel. The Indian expresses great horror, but the author is at pains to reassure him:

> In other countries, nearest the chief churches and topping monasteries, you find bawdy-houses established; ... But here, under the purer state of reformation, bawdy-houses are fain to go in disguise; 'Coffee to be sold', or 'fine Spanish chocolate' invite you in, when in reality they sell only Ratifia, Rosa Solis, Geneva, and such odd sort of liquor, fit to inflame the reckoning, and fire the blood; ... The great awkward lady of this place is called a bawd, who is generally a worn-out whore of twenty or thirty years' standing, and she deals in damnation, and so is truly a factor for the devil. (Amusements, 97, 99)

The Indian enquires whether such places are common in London, and Brown replies:

> Why truly ... this town is pretty well stored, but much less than formerly. For since liberty of conscience, every meeting-house is a rendezvous, and now every tavern a bawdy-house, every drawer and porter a pimp, and the whores get more by it, and the cullies are less cheated in their liquors and prices. (100)

Popular beliefs about go-betweens were as fanciful as they were in the time of Rojas. Many firmly believed that they were possessed of supernatural power, though among the better educated belief in witchcraft was declining. The reign of Anne saw an end of witch trials,[13] and this change of attitude is reflected in both adaptations. We have already seen how Captain Stevens significantly changes the emphasis of Pármeno's speech about Celestina's magical powers in his first chapter. Neither adaptation includes Celestina's asides to the devil, though the incantation in the dramatic adaptation (25-6) seems to be intended to arouse the superstitious feelings of the audience.

Celestina was a midwife by trade as well as being a bawd, and it is interesting that Richard Steele suggests that women who delivered babies were also thought to dabble in magic. In an early number of the Tatler he gives the following humorous account of his birth:

> The first thing that ever struck my senses was a noise over my head of one shrieking; after which, methought I took a full jump, and found myself in the hands of a sorceress, who seemed as if she had been long waking, and employed in some incantation.[14]

Later in the same account, Steele describes the same midwife as a 'witch'. Other writers, in common with Captain Steyens, were concerned about the persisting belief in the efficacy of witchcraft. In an essay entitled 'On Astrologers and Wise Women', Edward Ward rebuffs this superstition vigorously:

> But as to their pretended knowledge in matters beyond the view of common reason, it is all a cheat, and I am sorry this present age should give such evidence of its weakness as to encourage such a parcel of illiterate and scandalous deceivers of the common people to flourish and live publicly great, by such base and unjustifiable means as casting figures, telling fortunes, selling charms, or sigills, or the like. (London Spy, 260)

Tom Brown has another splendid piece on the trade of procuring in his Letters from the Dead to the Living. Mother Cresswell, a renowned go-between of the reign of Charles II, laments to one of her descendants, Moll Quarles, the decline in their common trade that she has watched from beyond the grave. She suggests some proven methods by which whoremongering can be restored to its glory of former days and stresses the important connection between religious piety and successful business that we have become familiar with from observing the methods of Celestina:

> It is well known, I kept as good order in my house as ever was observed in the nunnery; a church-bible always lay open upon my hall table, and every room in my house was furnished with the Practice of Piety, and other good books for the edification of my family; so that for every minute they sinned, they might repent an hour at their leisure intervals. I kept a chaplain in my house, and had prayers read twice a day as constantly as the sun rises in the morning, and sets in the evening.
> (Amusements, 443-4)

When Mother Cresswell goes on to describe her methods for gaining access to young ladies still in the charge of their parents, we are strongly reminded of the techniques used by Celestina in her preliminary assault on the virtue of Melibea:

> And whenever you have a design upon the daughter, be sure of the mother's faith, and ply her closely with religion, and she will trust her beloved abroad with you, in hopes she may edify; for you must consider, there is no being a perfect bawd without being a true hypocrite ... You must first pour the poison in at their ears, infect their thoughts, and when their fancies begin to itch, they will have their tails rubbed in spite of the devil. (445)

In enumerating the additional elements that the dramatic adaptation of the Celestina incorporates, I stressed the frequent mention of the legal profession in connection with low-life society. Evidently, this association has more than just a literary basis, for Mother

Cresswell intimates how closely men at the bar were involved with the girls who worked under her:

> Whenever you have a maidenhead, be sure and make a penny of the first-fruits, and at the second-hand let the next justice of the peace have the residue oñ free-cost, tho' you must give her her lesson, and present her as a pure virgin. By this sort of bribery you may win all the magistrates in Middlesex, make Hick's Hall's[15] your sanctuary, and gain an useful ascendancy over the whole bench of justices ... Whatever you do, never trust any of your tits into an inn of court, or inn of chancery, for if you do they will certainly harass her about from chamber to chamber till they rid her of her legs. (445-6)

If the adapters of A Tragi-Comedy lived at Inner Temple for some time, they could scarcely have been ignorant of the transactions that went on between bawds and the legal profession.

WHORES AND CULLIES

If the procurers were skilful at their trade, the whores were also past masters at making the most out of their customers. This was certainly true of the mozas in the Tragicomedia. Elicia describes the approaching Sempronio as her cousin, when he disturbs her with Crito in Act I, thus avoiding the admission that she has more than one lover on her books. This ploy bears a remarkable similarity to an incident described by John Dunton in his Night Walker for January 1697. He visits a bordello in 'H—n G—n' (Hatton Garden?), and when the landlord realises he is not a potential customer, but a journalist in search of a story, he promises to take Dunton to visit his girls, provided he keeps his secret:

> I will carry you to the young women immediately, whom I call Cousins; and that the Neighbourhood should suspect nothing, sometimes I take in a Spark as a Lodger, and at other times pretend that they are Kinsmen to the young women, newly come from other Relations in the Country. (3)

Talking with the girls, Dunton finds out much about their trade; 'they had not many occasional Visiters, and sometimes their Sparks were behind hand with them in their Allowances or Pensions!' (3).

This last phrase is curiously reminiscent of the parody of business jargon used in A Tragi-Comedy to describe the transactions of the whores with their cullies. For instance, Sempronio comes to see Elicia in Act I of the adaptation anxious to make amends for his long absence. Celestina has her doubts as to whether the insult can be forgiven:

> Celestina.-I believe you'll find the Interest of your Debt run up so high, that you won't be able to pay it. You are like some poor Fellows, that can pay a small Sum, and keep a sort of running Trade from hand to mouth, as they say; but if you let 'em go two or three Days behind-hand, they're gone. (7)

In all these examples, the credibility of the comparisons is weakened by the absence of an arguably factual description of a real person. Satirists had understandable reasons for not identifying the persons they described. Yet we can derive accounts that are historically true, if sensationalised for popular consumption, from the published writings of the Newgate Ordinaries, the prison chaplains who wrote the biographies of criminals about to be executed. One such pamphlet, printed the year after the Celestina adaptations were first published, concerns a whore condemned for murder, called Deborah Churchill:

> Born in Essex of very good and honest Parents; some say her Father was a Parson, she was brought up in a gentile manner, and when she grew up she went to wait on a Lady here in Town; where in the Family she was Debauch'd.[16]

The writer goes on to describe her career as a prostitute and her indictment for the murder of one of her customers. This crime and countless others like it must have shocked many people, not least in view of her well-to-do upbringing and the early age at which she embarked on her notorious career. There was a growing awareness among people concerned with the high crime rate in London and elsewhere that young people were not always delinquent merely by virtue of their birth and station in life. Various reasons were given among social commentators for the corruption of the young and their turning to a life of crime, and this problem is touched upon in the dramatic adaptation and treated more fully in The Bawd of Madrid. A study of this problem will occupy the final section of this study.

THE SUBVERSION OF THE YOUNG

Deborah Churchill was unusually fortunate to have a place in London to live and work when she first arrived, irrespective of what happened to her subsequently. The majority of young girls seem from contemporary accounts not to have made such prior arrangements: they arrived from the country often without knowing anybody in the city, and it is clear that the predicament these girls faced constituted an open invitation to the procurers and brothel keepers of London to make use of this ready pool of cheap labour. Mother Cresswell, for instance, makes an oblique reference elsewhere in her posthumous letter to the main source of her revenue:

> I always took care to deal in as good commodities as any shopkeeper in London could desire to have the handling of, true, wholesome country-ware; whole waggon-loads have I had come up at a time, have dressed them at my own expense, made them fit for a man's use, and put them into a saleable condition. (Amusements, 442)

The old procuress is, of course, referring to the state of trade in the time of Charles II, but there is some evidence that the same state of affairs still obtained at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In an article for number 266 of the Spectator (Jan. 4, 1712) entitled 'A Consideration of poor and publick Whores', Steele mentions a walk to a coachyard to pick up some luggage where he sees the 'most artful Procuress in Town, examining a most beautiful Country-Girl, who had come up in the same Waggon with my Things.'[17] Another revealing piece of evidence from later in the century, this time from the visual arts, is the first of the series of six prints by William Hogarth collectively known as The Harlot's Progress. The scene, drawn by Hogarth in 1732, is of the coachyard in front of the Bell Inn in Cheapside. A young country wench has just alighted with her luggage

from the waggon that has arrived from York and she is being closely admired by an old woman and, from a doorway in the background, by two middle-aged men. Commenting on this print, Ronald Paulson mentions that the old lady is generally held to bear a close resemblance to Mother Needham, proprietress of a famous bagnio near St. James' Street who was pelted to death in the pillory in 1731 for her infamous activities. The man on the left is said to be Col. Francis Charteris, a notorious seducer or rapist of pretty servant girls, and he is accompanied by one of his many pimps, whom he posted at innyards to spot newly-arrived girls. Together the old bawd and the two men are said to constitute the two worst threats awaiting the country girls in the city.[18]

This scene bears out some words of Tom Brown written earlier in the century; towards the end of her letter, Mother Cresswell ironically laments:

> that bawding of late years, which used to be a trade of itself, is now grown scandalous and very much declined, by reason that midwives, like a parcel of encroaching hussies, have engrossed the whole business to themselves, to the starving of experienced old ladies who have spent their days and worn out their beauty in the service of the public ... Besides, I hear noblemen employ their own valets, ladies their own waiting-women, citizens' wives one another, and all to save charges, to the ruin of our poor sisterhood. (Amusements, 445)

It is clear from the words of the bawd that there was far more competition from other sectors of society at the beginning of the eighteenth century than there had been in her heyday. Young people had to be even more careful than before with whom they associated. But it seems that nobody before the eighteenth century paid much attention to the reasons why the young succumbed to the temptations that such persons put before them.

The dramatic adaptation A Tragi-Comedy largely reflects this attitude of neglect. The only specific reference to the plight of the young comes in Lucrecia's concluding speech. This refers mainly to the dire effects of succumbing to temptation, and ends with the pious hope that other girls will learn from the fate of Melibea:

> The Chast and Charming Maid
> With Terror looks on Melibea's Guilt,
> And cries, Just Heav'n defend me from her Shame.
> Defend her, Heav'n; from Wrong her Sex secure,
> And let her Wishes, like her Form, be pure. (102)

There is a slight suggestion here that the downfall of women is something they bring upon themselves when their wishes are not pure, but this idea is not expanded elsewhere, and we cannot infer from this that the adapters put the blame for their misfortunes entirely on women themselves. It is interesting, though, that they expand the reference to the friar's moza in Act I (8-9). There is a very similar passage to that of the Celestina which again comes from Tom Brown. Mother Cresswell mentions that she often does similar favours for the clergy of her time, from which we learn that her relationship to eccliastics is as close as that of Celestina herself:

> The clergy, I am sure, were much beholden to me, for many a poor parson's daughter have I taken care on, bought shifts to her back, put a trade in her belly, taught her a pleasant livelihood that she might support herself like a woman, without being beholden to any body; otherwise must have turned drudge, waited on some proud minx or other, or else have depended on relations. Yet those unmannerly priests had the sinful ingratitude before I died to refuse praying for me in their churches; tho' I dealt by all people with a conscience, and was so well beloved in the parish I lived in that the churchwardens themselves became my daily customers. (442-3)

Other eighteenth-century writers concerned with the number of young people who were induced to take up a life of crime are often more categorical in giving reasons for juvenile delinquency. In the case of young girls, a commonly-held belief was that prostitution was a tendency inherent in the nature of women and therefore inescapable. Two other ideas about the causes of prostitution were current in the eighteenth century. Some people held that women became prostitutes of necessity, while others believed that the initial fault was that of the man or procuress who first put the temptation in the way of a hitherto innocent girl. One of the foremost commentators on the causes of prostitution during this period was Daniel Defoe. I mentioned in chapter IX the similarity of the preface of Moll Flanders (1722) to that of Stevens' The Spanish Libertines. A further similarity to the Celestina, of course, is that Defoe's work deals with the debauching and subsequent career of an English whore.

As she looks back over her life as a prostitute, Moll declares that she repents of the life she has led, yet she cannot in all honesty put the whole blame on the inclinations of her female nature:

> ...tho' I was not without secret Reproaches of my own Conscience for the Life I led, and that even in the greatest height of the Satisfaction I ever took, yet I had the terrible prospect of Poverty and Starving which lay on me as a frightful Spectre, so that there was no looking behind me: But as Poverty brought me into it, so fear of Poverty kept me in it, and I frequently resolv'd to leave it quite off, if I could but come to lay up Money enough to maintain me.[19]

But elsewhere Moll suggests that there are other factors than mere necessity that induce a woman to do wrong:

> But there are Temptations which it is not in the Power of Human Nature to resist and few know what would be their Case, if driven to the same Exigences. (188)

In a very balanced book on the motivations of Defoe's characters, Maximillian E. Novak discusses Moll's reasons for turning whore in the light of Defoe's comments on prostitution elsewhere:

> ... in 1726 [Defoe] attacked Mandeville's theory that prostitution was rooted in the physical nature of women and therefore inevitable. The real culprit, Defoe believed, was the man, not the woman. 'Man's Solicitation', he wrote, 'tempts them to Lewdness, Necessity suceeds Sins and Want puts an end to Shame.' (Some Considerations on Street Walkers, p.8). This pattern, however, suggests that Moll's original failure to resist temptation in her first affair at Colchester was the original cause of her downfall. Certainly Defoe placed most of the blame on her seducer ('if there had been no Whore-Masters, there would have been no Whores.' The Anatomy of Exchange Alley (1719), p. 26), but some of the guilt must reflect on Moll.[20]

I have dealt with Defoe's ideas at some length, because the importance he gives to the source and strong influence of the initial temptation is one shared by the author of The Bawd of Madrid, Captain Stevens. Although it is unlikely that either owes a conscious debt to the other, this is the most important change of emphasis that Stevens gives to his adaptation of the Celestina. From the title page of the original work it is apparent that Rojas is more interested in showing the effects that illicit love has on the parties concerned, though he does demonstrate through his dialogues the importance that human failings such as lust and greed have in winning the compliance of innocent persons. But Stevens goes a step further in arranging his material so as to leave the reader in no doubt as to where, for him, the source of the perversion of the young lies.

It is clear from the preface to The Spanish Libertines that the less mature are the group of readers at whom he particularly aims these pieces, each of which contains a moral:

> Youth, naturally averse to solid Studies, as easily drawn away by Delight, are thus, sometimes, pleasingly disswaded from those Follies they see have prov'd fatal to others. (sig. A2^{b})

The importance of his work for the young was, of course, also a point stressed by Fernando de Rojas in his prefatory remarks to the Tragicomedia, but, as I have mentioned above, the main emphasis of the warning given is to show young people the tragic consequences of ill-considered action.

Secondly, we saw in discussing the adapter's reasons for reproducing the dialogue how important Stevens considered the spoken word, certainly as an artistic medium of great force and potential, but also as a decisive means of persuasion when used with skill. In the moral comments that precede Celestina's conversation with Areusa in chapter IV, Stevens defends his admixture of passages of dialogue and prose narrative, suggesting that, in these extracts:

> the Reader will better see the Arts and Wiles of those sort of Creatures, than in a bare Relation; for in their Words lies the Poison they convey, which is the Reason why we are so exact in setting them down. (96)

The implication is clearly that the young reader should read the dialogues carefully, since the sort of arguments and temptations they illustrate may one day be the sort of persuasion to which he or she will be subjected. The implicit hope of the writer is that if an innocent person can stave off the initial assault, there will be less danger of such a person or their parents meeting the same tragedy as the characters of the Celestina.

If we look again at the pattern of conversations that Stevens chose to translate as dialogues, we see that each, in its way, involves some kind of persuasion or deception, from the practised cunning of Celestina (later inherited by Areúsa in her interview with Sosia) to the exaggerated and ridiculous - but no less dangerous - overtures of love and devotion that Calisto makes to Melibea. Celestina, in fact, features as temptress in all but the two dialogues just mentioned. The same common element of persuasion can also be found in the three conversations that occupy chapter II: Calisto's first conversation with Melibea; Sempronio's with his master; and Celestina's first conversation with the 'adopted' son Pármeno, whom she has not seen for many years. It is true that these conversations are not couched in dialogue, but the fact that the adapter does not shorten them to any great extent seems to indicate that he wished to give them prominence. It is worth noting too, that his dialogues are concerned as much with the subversion of young men as with that of girls, and this wider social concern is also expressed in his narrative asides, as I mentioned in chapter IX. These diatribes have often little to do with the action of the work, but they do, indirectly, show the extent to which Captain Stevens used the Celestina as a platform from which he could express his own concerns about the society in which he lived.

In a broader sense, both adaptations have this dual purpose. On the one hand, they offer to English audiences one of the finest works of Spanish literature in a manner that would be popularly acceptable. On the other hand, the adapters were fully aware, in

their different ways, of the relevance of this late fifteenth-century work to the society they lived in, and how conducive it was to the adding of contemporary material. Even apart from its particular relevance to this period of English social history, the Celestina possesses two characteristics of all works of genius: its relevance to its own age and to every age.

By way of a sobering postscript, it ought in fairness to be pointed out that the social commentators of the early eighteenth century accomplished little in curbing the exploitation of the young and innocent. A London guide-book of 1776 offers:

> A word of advice to such young women as may arrive strangers in town ... Immediately on their arrival ... and sometimes sooner, even upon their road to it, there are miscreants of both sexes on the watch to seduce the fresh young country maiden, with infinite protestations of friendship, service, love and pity, to prostitution ... If she applies to an office of intelligence, 'tis odds but that she falls into the hands of some procuress ...[21]

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI

1. Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure, ed. Peter Quennell (New York: Putnam's, 1963), 32-3.

2. See especially Asa Briggs, ed., How They Lived (1700-1815) (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969); M. Dorothy George, London Life in the XVIIIth Century (1926; 2nd ed., London: Kegan Paul, 1930), esp. chap. III; Dorothy Marshall, The English Poor in the Eighteenth Century (London: Routledge, 1926), chap. VI; G.M. Trevelyan, England Under Queen Anne: Blenheim (London: Longman, 1930), chap. IV.

3. Briggs, 89-112; Trevelyan, 91-3.

4. Marshall, chap. VI; Trevelyan, chap. III.

5. J.R., Hanging not Punishment Enough (London, 1701), 24.

6. "The Pattern of Crime in England 1660-1800," Past & Present, No. 62 (Feb. 1974), 46-95, at p.94.

7. See J.J. Richetti, Popular Fiction Before Richardson (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 25-9.

8. See Cony Catchers and Bawdy Baskets, ed. Gāmini Salgādo (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972); John Pound, Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England (London: Longman, 1971).

9. Josiah Woodward, An Account of the Society for the Reformation of Manners (London, 1699), 10.

10. A Sixth Blacklist (London, 1701), single folio.

11. Amusements Serious and Comical, ed. Arthur L. Hayward (London: Routledge, 1927), 372-3.

12. The London Spy, ed. Arthur L. Hayward (London: Cassell, 1927), 100.

13. See Trevelyan, 59-60.

14. Richard Steele, Tatler No. 15, quoted in J. Ashton, Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne (London: Chatto and Windus, 1919), 2.

15. 'Hick's Hall, in St. John's Street, facing West Smithfield, is the county hall in which the justices of Middlesex hold their sessions.' London and its environs described (London, 1761), 188.

16. The Whole Life, Conversation, Birth, Parentage and Education of Deborah Churchill (London, 1708), fol. A^b; see also Richetti, 23-32.

17. Quoted in Hogarth's Graphic Works, ed. Ronald Paulson (New Haven and London: Yale U.P., 1965), 141-5, at p. 143.

18. Hogarth's Graphic Works, 144.

19. The Fortunes and Misfortunes of Moll Flanders, ed. G.A. Starr (London: Oxford U.P., 1971), 120.

20. Defoe and the Nature of Man (London: Oxford U.P., 1963), 82; see also, by the same critic "The Problem of Necessity in Defoe's Fiction," PQ, xl (1961), 513-24.

21. A Brief Description of London and Westminster (London, 1776), xxvii.

APPENDIX 1 - BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTIONS

[This appendix is not an attempt to give an exhaustive description of the two books containing the adaptations. It is intended to give an overall impression of the books, to be taken in conjunction with the xerox copies in appendices 2 and 3. I have in general based my description on the revised principles outlined by Philip Gaskell in A New Introduction to Bibliography (Oxford:Clarendon,1972),311-355. Unlike Gaskell, I have left duplicated signature alphabets as I have found them: e.g., Cc2^{a}, not 2C2^{a} as he suggests on page 328.]

THE SPANISH ROGUE 2 VOLS. (1708,07)

Title. [Vol.i -within a ruled frame] THE | LIFE | OF | Guzman d'Alfarache:| OR, THE | SPANISH ROGUE. | To which is added, | The Celebrated Tragi-Comedy,| CELESTINA. | [rule] | In Two Volumes. | [rule] | Written in Spaniſh | By MATEO ALEMAN. | [rule] | Done into Engliſh from the New French Verſion, | and compar'd with the Original. | [rule] | By ſeveral Hands. | [rule] | Adorn'd with Sculptures by Gaſpar Bouttats. |[rule] | VOL. I. | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed for R. Bonwick, W. Freeman, T. Goodwin, | J. Walthoe, M. Wotton, J. Nicholſon, S. Manſhip, | R. Parker, B. Tooke, and R. Smith. 1708.

[Vol.ii - title-page as vol.i, except date of printing given as 17o7.]

Formula. [Vol.i] demy 8^{o} (186 x 118mm): $\pi^{2}A^{8}a^{1}B$-$Ll^{8}Nn^{2}$[$4 signed(-A1)]. 294 leaves, pp.[22]1-548[9 prints=18 pages][=588]. Unwatermarked, catchwords throughout.

[Vol.ii] demy 8^{o} (186 x 118mm): $\pi^{2}A^{2}B$-$Hh^{8}Ii^{6}$[$4 signed(-A1)]. 255 leaves, pp.[8]1-386[7 prints=14pages] 1-1o2[=51o]. Unwatermarked, catchwords throughout.

Contents. [Vol.i] 2 guard folios; $A1^{a}$ title-page (verso blamk); $A2^{a}$ TO THE | RIGHT HONOURABLE | THE | Lord Marque ſs | OF | MOUNT-HERMER.[Epistle Dedicatory signed by J. Savage.]; $A5^{a}$ THE | Engli ſh Tran ſlators | PREFACE.; $A8^{b}$ A Catalogue of BOOKS. ; a^{a} THE | CONTENTS | OF THE | Fir ſt BOOK. ; page 1(Fol.$B1^{a}$) THE | LIFE and ACTIONS | of the Famous | SPANISH ROGUE | Guzman d'Alfarache | [rule] | Part I. Book I. | [rule]; 239($Q7^{a}$) | Part I. Book II. ; 376($Bb2^{a}$) | Part I. Book III. ; 547($Nn2^{a}$) [rule] | FINIS. | [rule]. [Vol.ii] 2 guard folios; $A1^{a}$ title-page (verso blank); $A2^{a}$ THE | Contents of the Second Volume. ;page 1(Fol.$B1^{a}$) THE | LIFE and ACTIONS...[as vol.i] ...| Part II.[rule]; 386(Cc^{b}) | FINIS. ; ($Cc2^{a}$) [title-page] CELESTINA: | OR, THE | Spani ſh Bawd. | A Tragi-Comedy. | Taken from the Spani ſh Play of Mateo | Aleman, Author of GUZMAN[swash N]. | Reduc'd from 21, as it is in the Original, | to 5 Acts; and adapted to the Engli ſh | Stage. | [rule] | Neve minor quinto, neu ſit productior Actu | Fabula. | Hor. ad Pi ſo. | [rule] | LONDON: | Printed for...[as other title-pages, except that |... J. Nichol ſon, S. Man ſhip, |... has become |...S. Man ſhip, J. Nichol ſon,

[...]. 1707. (verso blank); Cc3[a] |PREFACE. ; Cc3[b] | Dramatis Personæ. ; page 1(Fol.Cc4[a]) ACT I. ; 22(Dd6[b])|[rule]| ACT II. ; 39(Ee7[a]) ACT III. ; 54(Ff6[b]) |[rule]| ACT IV. ; 75(Hh[a]) ACT V. ; 102(Ii6[b]) |[rule]| FINIS.

Special Imprints. Copper-plate prints by Gaspar Bouttats. [Vol.i]

a) π2[b] (facing title-page) copper print measuring 158 x 102mm., comprising a central panel depicting Guzmán in rags, surrounded by seven scemes portraying various events in his life. Beneath the central panel the words: THE LIFE OF | GVZMAN | D'ALFARACHE | OR | THE SPANISH | ROGUE ;

b) Prints (158 x 102mm.) depicting other scenes inserted facing pages 23(No.1), 58(2), 88(3), 296(4), 330(5), 366(6), 383(7), 416(8) and 451(9). [Vol.ii] Lacks frontispiece, but has more prints facing pages 78(13), 128(14), 196(15), 274(16), 331(10), 348(11) and 368(12).

Remarks on known copies. 1) British Library (G.17678, 79.). Bookplate of Thomas Greville. Binding: 19th century(?). Brown calf with gold tooling, leaves have gilt edges. Vol.i without prints 1 and 9. Folio Ii6 slightly torn, but otherwise a copy in good condition.

2) British Library (1249o.e.5). Bookplate of Duke of Sussex. Modern binding - miscolocation of prefatory pages, presumably during the process of rebinding: folio A8 has been inserted between A6 and A7. Since there are signs of an attempt to reinforce A8 with some sort of backing, it was probably a loose leaf, and it is therefore not necessary to postulate a separate impression. This is the copy used for the xerox in appendix 2.

3) London Library(2571,2572). No bookplate. Binding:modern. Print 9 inserted facing page 375.

4) Bodleian Library, Oxford(Vet. A4 e.848-49). Bookplates of Henry, Duke of Kent, 1713; Thomas Phillip, Earl de Grey, Wrest Park; and that of Jacob Lyell in front of both volumes. Binding: calf, gilt back, joints of vol.i cracked.

5) Boston Public Library(copy consulted by Mrs. Malkiel, see Origin-alidad artística,58n). According to the Keeper of Rare Books, John Alden, this copy is the same as the copies to be found in the United Kingdom. The copy in question did not belong to George Ticknor himself, Mrs. Malkiel's comments notwithstanding, but was purchased in 1906 from a fund bequeathed by Ticknor(private letter dated 21 May 1974). I am extremely grateful to Mr. Alden for providing me with the above information.

THE SPANISH LIBERTINES (1707)

Title. [within a ruled frame] THE | Spaniſh Libertines: | OR, THE | LIVES | OF | JUSTINA, The Country Jilt; | CELESTINA, The Bawd of Madrid; | AND | ESTEVANILLO GONZALES, | The moſt Arch and Comical of | SCOUNDRELS.| [rule] | To which is added, a PLAY, call'd,| An EVENINGS ADVENTURES.| [rule] | All Four Written by Eminent SPANISH | Authors, and now firſt made Engliſh by | Captain JOHN STEVENS.|[rule] | LONDON | Printed, and

Sold by Samuel Bunchley, at the Fub|li∫hing-Office in Bearbinder-Lane, 17o7.

Formula. demy 8° (196 x 114mm.): π^2A^{4}B-Ll^8 χ^2[χ4 signed(-A1 A4)].

272 leaves, pp.[12] 1-528[4][=544]. Unwatermarked, catchwords throughout.

Comtents. 2 guard folios; A1^a title-page(verso blank); A2^a THE | PREFACE.; page 1(Fol.B1^a) THE|Spani∫h Jilt, &c. | [rule] | CHAP.I. ; 65(F1^a) [end - verso blank]; 67(F2^a) THE | BAWD | OF | MADRID. | [rule] | CHAP.I. ; 16o (L8^b)[end]; 161(M1^a) A |Spani∫h Play, | CALL'D | An Evenings Intrigue.| [rule] | Tran∫lated from the Original; and|the Scene remov'd into | ENGLAND. | [rule]; 162(M1^b) Dfamatis Per∫onae. ; 252(R6^b)[end]; 253(R7^a) THE | LIFE | OF | E∫tevanillo Gonzales | THE|PLEASANTEST | AND MOST| DIVERTING | OF ALL | Comical Scoundrels[gothic]; 52o(L14^b) [change to smaller type]; 528(L18^b) | FINIS. ; 2 guard folios.

Remarks on known copies. 1) British Library(1249o.f.3o). No bookplate. Binding: 18th century(?), brown calf with gold tooling on front and back cover. There is another copy of An Evenings Intrigue shelved at 161.c.44.

2) Bodleian Library, Oxford(Vet. A4 e.22oo). No bookplate. No guard folios. Binding: modern - fly-leaves inserted before and after the text; the last of these is slightly torn.

ADDENDUM

Pierre Heugas, La Célestine et sa descendance directe (Bordeaux: Institut d'Études Ibériques et Ibéro-Américaines de l'Université, 1973).

Pierre Heugas' recently-published book is the first major study of the Celestina and its imitations since the publication of Mrs. Malkiel's La originalidad artística twelve years ago. The scope of Heugas' work is slightly more modest; he makes a distinction between 'lo celestinesco', the general literary influence of the Tragicomedia, and 'la celestinesca', the early group of works which mostly corresponds to Hillard's classification of 'continuations' (Heugas, 38; see also above, page 9). As Heugas' title suggests, it is this latter group of works that he studies in depth, examining seven works printed before 1554. Among these, he includes the Comedia Thebayda which he regards as 'un modèle au deuxième degré'(39). Quite rightly, he considers the Thebayda as the earliest work similar in form to the Celestina, even if it is not strictly a continuation, yet he gives no explanation of why he has left out of his group of early Celestinesque works the Seraphina and the Ypólita, two works which have been traditionally associated with the Thebayda and the Celestina.

Referring to this group of early imitations, Heugas remarks (10) that the continuations have mainly been used by previous critics to shed new light on various aspects of the Tragicomedia. He goes on to point out that, while this approach is not without its value, the early

imitations constitute, with the Tragicomedia, an identifiable whole; they display a large number of features in common with one another, while at the same time responding differently to a variety of medieval literary traditions. After examining the ways in which previous critics have dealt with the phenomenon of Celestinesque literature, Heugas proceeds to develop his general argument that early Celestinesque works echo a number of important themes of medieval literature, even as they break new ground in a variety of ways, above all in portraying low-life characters in what he calls 'l'infra-monde de la célestinesque'(457). 'Un genre restreint comme la célestinesque', he says in his conclusion, 'porte en soi, dans son évolution, des germes de décomposition mais aussi les germes de l'avenir'(586).

Where the present study is concerned, Heugas makes no mention of the two English adaptations of 1707, since he deals only with the Spanish imitations of the Tragicomedia and therefore the influence of the Celestina in England is outside his terms of reference. But his study does have considerable bearing on my introductory chapter; he has, for instance, gone a long way towards vitiating the observation that there is still room for a major work which sets out to examine the social as much as the literary background of the early Celestinesque works (cf.p.12,above). His book is also relevant to the issues discussed in chapter XI of the present study: towards the end of his work, Heugas documents in some detail the nature of procuring and the prostitution trade in sixteenth-century Spain (457-79) and discusses how far these conditions are reflected in

Celestinesque literature. Earlier, in a chapter concerned with the location of each of the works, he argues convincingly that each of the continuations reflects the setting with which its author is familiar, and that we cannot deduce from such evidence where the Tragicomedia itself had its location(249-54).

In that he affords their due importance to both literary and social influences on the Celestina and on its early imitations, this new study by Pierre Heugas is perhaps more balanced than that of Mrs,Malkiel before him. Since his terms of reference are less ambitious, he is able to deal with each work in greater detail and can also contrast one imitation with another rather than merely comparing each with the Tragicomedia, which was largely Mrs.Malkiel's approach. In that he deals in some detail with the social background, Heugas can also be said to have contributed a useful companion volume to Stephen Gilman's The Spain of Fernando de Rojas. Together, these two works help us greatly in our understading of the environment in which Fernando de Rojas and his literary successors lived.

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